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THE YEAR'S WORK IN ENGLISH STUDIES

VOLUME XIX

1938

Edited for

The English Association

BY

FREDERICK S. BOAS

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PREFACE

OWING to exceptional circumstances, the present volume of *The Year's Work* appears with an unusual number of changes in personnel. Dr. Mary S. Serjeantson has been co-editor of volumes xii–xviii and has contributed to them one or more chapters. While she was primarily concerned with the linguistic sections of *The Year's Work*, by the breadth and accuracy of her scholarship, Miss Serjeantson rendered most valuable service to the publication as a whole. It is much to be regretted that, owing to her retirement in 1939 from academic life, she was obliged to resign her connexion with *The Year's Work*. The present volume, like X and XI, appears with only one name on the title-page.

As contributor of chapter V, which was undertaken last year by Miss Serjeantson, the Association has been fortunate in obtaining the help of Miss Gladys D. Willcock, Reader in English Language and Literature in the University of London, at Royal Holloway College. Professor Ifor Evans, who was engaged after the outbreak of war for a considerable period in Government service, was able to complete chapter I. But his place as contributor of chapter XII has been taken by Miss Dorothy M. Stuart, well known for her *Horace Walpole* and *Christina Rossetti* in the 'English Men of Letters' series, and other critical and biographical studies.

Since the publication of volume XVIII Mr. C. L. Wrenn has been appointed to the Chair of English Language and Literature in the University of London, at King's College. He contributes this year chapter III on 'Old English', while chapter II on 'Philology: General Works' has been undertaken by Miss Marjorie Daunt, who thus resumes a connexion with *The Year's Work* interrupted since volume XIII.

Owing to increasing pressure of official duties, Mr. Sellers has been compelled to give up chapter XIV on 'Bibliographica', of which he has been the highly valued contributor since volume viii. His place has been taken by his colleague, Mr. John Southgate, and thus the connexion with the British Museum has been happily preserved.

This volume contains notices of 232 books and 628 articles.

F. S. B.

ABBREVIATIONS

Archiv	= Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen.
C.H.E.L.	= Cambridge History of English Literature.
C.U.P.	= Cambridge University Press.
E.E.T.S.	= Early English Text Society.
E.L.H.	= A Journal of English Literary History (U.S.A.).
Eng. Stud.	= Englische Studien.
Germ.-rom. Monat.	= Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift.
H.L.Q.	= Huntington Library Quarterly.
J.E.G.P.	= Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
Med. Æv.	= Medium Ævum.
M.L.N.	= Modern Language Notes.
M.L.R.	= Modern Language Review.
Mod. Phil.	= Modern Philology.
N. and Q.	= Notes and Queries.
O.U.P.	= Oxford University Press.
P.M.L.A.	= Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
P.Q.	= Philological Quarterly.
Rev. ang.-amér.	= Revue anglo-américaine.
Rev. de Litt. Comp.	= Revue de la Littérature Comparée.
R.E.S.	= Review of English Studies.
R.S.L.	= Royal Society of Literature.
S.A.B.	= Shakespeare Association Bulletin (U.S.A.).
S. in Ph.	= Studies in Philology.
T.L.S.	= Times Literary Supplement.
Y.W.	= The Year's Work.

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I

LITERARY HISTORY AND CRITICISM: GENERAL WORKS

By B. IFOR EVANS

THE number of volumes received for this chapter has decreased this year.

Herbert Read has prepared a collection of literary essays,¹ and this forms the most comprehensive contribution to criticism in the period under review. Read, in his preface, rightly deplores the fact that there no longer remains in England a medium in which the longer critical essay can be published. His own volume is divided into 'General Theories', and into 'Particular Studies', in which he considers individual writers. Read's main contribution to critical theory has come from his insistence that literary criticism should employ the findings of psychology and psycho-analysis. 'I believe', he writes, 'that criticism must concern itself, not only with the work of art in itself, but also with the process of writing and with the writer's state of mind when inspired.' While Read is not the only critic to urge the importance of psychological method, he has more discretion than most of his fellow advocates and he has the embarrassing advantage of being a poet. With the 'General' essays, readers of this chapter will already be familiar; Read concerns himself with the distinction of 'organic' and 'abstract' in literature as a substitution for 'romantic' and 'classical', and he defines 'personality' with the aid of his psychological studies. As a transition from 'General' to 'Particular' studies he defines the 'nature of metaphysical poetry' and investigates the problem of obscurity in poetry, discovering that sometimes 'the poetry remains in the obscurity—is, in some way, the obscurity itself'. He also discusses the nature of the poet's experience with some examples chosen from his own verse. These essays show Read as an adventurous critic, dissatisfied with the chaos which so often rules in critical discussion, and willing, so as to restore

¹ *Collected Essays*, by Herbert Read, Faber and Faber. pp. 366. 12s. 6d.

order, to experiment with Adler or with Vico to see what results can be gained by the application of their disciplines.

The psychological method which Read advocates in his general essays can be found in a varying degree in the 'Particular' essays. 'Froissart' is an illuminating essay, which touches the problems of 'the middle ages', 'humanism', and 'the renaissance', as they can be judged from Froissart's achievement. Read's own studies of T. E. Hulme are employed in the investigation. Neither in this essay nor in the 'Malory' does Read seem to rely on any psychological vocabulary or method. In the 'Malory' he combines a discerning study of prose style with a consideration of the contrast between Malory and his later imitators. The essay is original and topical in the best sense, for by comparing Malory with Cervantes and Vauvenargues he shows what significance the *Morte D'Arthur* has to-day.

Nothing in the volume is more admirable than the study of Smollett, with its well-reasoned defence of his work against the charges of indecency. The defence of Smollett is more individual than the essay on Sterne, and Read himself is quick to recognize that some of the best things about Sterne have already been said by Coleridge. On Coventry Patmore, Read writes justly, but with less enthusiasm than Patmore's supporters will expect. It would have been of interest to see Read examine the recent critical literature on Patmore. More sympathetic is his study of G. M. Hopkins, especially his study of the types of experience on which Hopkins's poetry is based. In his essay on 'Charlotte and Emily Brontë' Read uses his knowledge of psycho-analysis, but with discretion and restraint. His analysis of Bagehot's criticism is particularly welcome, for the neglect of that powerful mind by students of the nineteenth century is wholly unaccountable. Read's essays, collected into one volume, are impressive. They are evidence of his honesty and consistency, and his desire to explore new methods in criticism without ever allowing the method to become an end in itself.

The volume of his collected essays is not Herbert Read's only contribution to the critical literature of the year, for he has published another volume² under the somewhat alarming title

² *Poetry and Anarchism*, by Herbert Read. Faber and Faber. pp. 136. 6s.

of *Poetry and Anarchism*. It is unnecessary here to lead the discussion into the more controversial aspects of Read's study, and some of its statements would need modification if the volume were reissued to-day. The central argument remains of permanent interest. Read, with consistent sincerity, describes the difficulty of the poet in the modern world, and explores his relationship, not only to the conditions of a commercial and capitalist society, but to the problem of war and peace. Much of the volume is personal, and Read's analysis of his own development, amid the perplexities of his age, robs the study of that crude dogmatism which marks some critical literature into which the consideration of political issues intrudes. He shows here, as in his volume of collected essays, an attachment to psychology which sometimes amounts almost to a deference. Readers who cannot accept his conclusions may yet find in this study the clearest definition of the mind of many of the generation who fought in the war of 1914-18.

R. Warwick Bond has made a collection of his occasional studies,³ some of which have appeared in periodical form. In 'The Art of Narrative Poetry' he pleads that story-telling should be reintroduced into verse. He feels that the poetry of Keats and Shelley is too consistently emblazoned for narrative; 'the Art of Sinking in Poetry is something more than a burlesque subject'. This is a slight piece compared with Bond's analysis and appreciation of Brant's *Das Narrenschiff*, one of the most valuable and spirited studies in the volume. A number of Shakespearian essays follow. Bond attempts to demonstrate that Shakespeare in *The Comedy of Errors* may have been indebted to Giovan Maria Cecchi's *L'Ammalata*. He believes that this source may have suggested to Shakespeare the combination of the Aegeon story with the main theme of the play. His other study of sources is more elaborate. He accepts a suggestion made in 1898 by Dr. Richard Garnett in his *Italian Literature* that while Boiardo's *Timone* was little more than a translation of a dialogue by Lucian, it was a source for *Timon of Athens*. This relationship Bond studies in detail, and makes, incidentally,

³ *Studia Otiosa*, by R. Warwick Bond. Constable. pp. ix+228. 7s. 6d.

some interesting remarks on Shakespeare's knowledge of Italian, and the possibility of his friendship with Florio. Bond's other Shakespearian essays are critical. In 'Falstaff as Vox Populi' he argues that Falstaff fulfils in many ways the role of the crowd, which had appeared in *Sir Thomas More* and in the Jack Cade scenes in *Henry VI*. Bond suggests that for some reason Shakespeare had found the portrayal of crowds inconvenient, and instead, he incorporated a number of their attributes and supplied a human element in the *Henry IV* plays through Falstaff. As Bond presents the argument it appears more ingenious than convincing. He seems to obscure the more subtle and philosophical elements in Falstaff's nature, to which recent criticism has paid some attention. Nor does his bold suggestion in 'The Puzzle of *Cymbeline*', despite its attractiveness, seem completely acceptable. Bond is troubled by Johnson's comment on the play; 'the folly of the fiction, the absurdity of the conduct, the confusion of the names and manners of different times.' Bond suggests that Shakespeare in this play is bringing together his work in English and in Roman history and that much in the fable can be accounted for on that hypothesis. Even if this were true one might still ask whether he had been successful. Throughout this volume one is impressed by the fact that Warwick Bond belongs to the older generation of scholars who preceded the specialists of this later age. He ranges widely and brings a generous scholarship to aid him in a volume which, apart from these studies on English literature, includes studies of Lucan, Pindar, and Montaigne.

Sir Charles Firth was an historian who possessed notable literary gifts, and he knew how often the historical perspective can set a work of art in a truer relationship with its age. Godfrey Davies, who edits a collection of Firth's essays,⁴ is fully aware of this valuable contribution made in 'the debatable land open to students of history and literature alike'. Some of the studies fall for consideration later in this volume (see p. 187). With Firth's paper on 'Ballads and Broad-sides', readers of *Shakespeare's England* (1916), chap. xxiv, will be already

⁴ *Essays Historical and Literary*, by Sir Charles Firth. O.U.P. pp. viii + 247. 12s. 6d.

familiar. Firth's second essay is a vivid defence of 'Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*', against Arnold and others who have sought to minimize Raleigh's achievement as an historian. He gives a vivid account of the work as a whole, and shows the reasons why the earlier and duller portions derived from 'Jewish and Rabbinical learning' have their place in Raleigh's conception. Of equal interest is Firth's account of 'Milton as an Historian', and some crabbed writers on Milton's prose style will be interested and surprised to find that in Firth's assessment 'in lightness of touch, as well as in brevity, Milton as a story-teller exceeds either Holinshed, Speed or Stow'. He argues that Masson did not do justice to Milton's treatment of his sources, though he admits that Milton is seeking in history, particularly in the earlier centuries, for the materials for story telling, believing that a legend may leave 'many footsteps and reliques of something true'. To the student of literature Firth's analysis of the relation of Milton's *History* to his poetry is of particular interest.

Those who know Edmund Wilson's *Axel's Castle* will be aware of the delicate and perceptive quality that attaches to his work. At the same time, the present volume⁵ is a collection of essays of an occasional quality in which the exercise of his more sustained powers is not called for. Of the general essays in the volume the most valuable is entitled 'Is Verse a Dying Technique?' Wilson suggests that the romantics and Arnold, and even modern writers of very different loyalties, have attempted to interpret poetry in a manner totally distinct from that of Dante or Vergil or Pope. They have concentrated on the phrase or the mood so that the individual image sticks out from their poems and longer compositions are impossible. He argues that prose may have gathered to itself some of the precision in expression and the exactness of rhythms of poetry, and this he illustrates by an illuminating comparison of Vergil and Flaubert. We may be confusing the range of modern prose by insisting on a critical terminology which is no longer valid; 'literary techniques are tools, which the masters of the craft always alter in adapting them to their new uses. To become

⁵ *The Triple Thinkers*, by Edmund Wilson. O.U.P. pp. 289. 10s. 6d.

too much attached to the old tools is sometimes to ignore the masters.' The most elaborate and revealing of Wilson's essays is on 'The Ambiguity of Henry James'. Its argument can best be summarized in Wilson's own conclusion: 'his work is incomplete as his experience was; but it is in no respect second-rate, and he can be judged only in the company of the great masters.' The essay covers the whole of James's work, and includes a most lucid exposition of *The Turn of the Screw*. Wilson also includes briefer essays on Samuel Butler, the author of *Erewhon*, and on A. E. Housman and G. B. Shaw. He concludes the volume with a brief but valuable discussion on 'Marxism and Literature' in which he shows that Engels, Marx, and even Trotsky did not apply to literature the mechanical, materialistic interpretation which is prevalent in contemporary communist circles. He admits, however, that the conception of communism is so profound that it may awaken a new literature; 'the Marxist vision of Lenin has in its completeness and its compelling force a good deal in common with the vision of Dante.'

Dorothy M. Hoare has made a study⁶ of a number of modern novelists. Her work was originally planned in the form of lectures, and much of her volume is direct exposition, and even description of subject-matter. This does not lessen the value of her work. Her analysis of Henry James must suffer in comparison with Edmund Wilson's essay, but then so must everything else that has been written on James. The discourse on E. M. Forster is penetrating, especially in its study of the influence of Meredith on Forster, and the long study of Virginia Woolf analyses Mrs. Woolf's methods in fiction with sympathy. The volume also contains a discourse on 'The Novels of D. H. Lawrence' and three shorter studies, 'The Tragic in Hardy and Conrad', 'Moore and Joyce—A Contrast', and 'A Note on Katharine Mansfield'.

David Daiches has chosen an ambitious theme in his study⁷

⁶ *Some Studies in the Modern Novel*, by Dorothy M. Hoare. Chatto and Windus. pp. 154. 5s.

⁷ *Literature and Society*, by David Daiches. Gollancz. pp. 287. 5s.

of literature and society. He approaches it, as do many critics of his generation, entirely from an economic standpoint. This disturbs the balance of his historical survey, which is in other ways also inadequate. His most self-revealing passage comes in his study of the Middle Ages. It reads: 'a complete survey of the medieval Church and its position in the social life of the time would be necessary if we were to consider religious literature in an essay on "Literature and Society"; so we must pass on without further discussion, confining ourselves to those aspects of literature that throw the most direct light on the theme we wish to treat.' Daiches does not seem interested in the Gospels until he comes to the Gospel according to Marx. Fortunately Daiches has far too honest a mind to reject the difficulties of this theme entirely, and there are some interesting moments when he seems to be ready to reject his original thesis. The volume is at least a brave attempt to survey an aspect of literature which has been neglected since Leslie Stephen's *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*.

Judgement on John Drinkwater's study⁸ of English poetry is difficult for a number of reasons; the volume is unfinished, much of it would appear to have been unrevised, and of what has been written some may be accounted unnecessary. It must give an air of the ungenerous to speak thus of the work of a poet recently dead, but had the poet lived the work could not have appeared in this form; he might indeed have determined upon a revision which would make the volume as now presented unrecognizable. It is best considered as an indication of what Drinkwater himself enjoyed most in English verse. The early chapter on 'The Nature and Function of Poetry' will seem too facile and discursive to a generation that has been prepared, under the discipline which Coleridge initiated, to bring to criticism something of an exact and philosophical method. Nor are the historical sections more illuminating. Drinkwater begins his commentary with Chaucer, and his few references to earlier verse are negligible, even hostile, and yet *Maldon* read to-day seems more lively and actual than some

⁸ *English Poetry: An Unfinished History*, by John Drinkwater. Methuen. pp. xi+218. 6s.

of the poets he discusses. His estimate of Chaucer, whom he admires, is disappointing, and for one interested in narrative poetry it is odd to find *Troilus and Criseyde* passed with a casual reference. The volume also includes a reprint of Drinkwater's Warton lecture, 'Some Contribution to the English Anthology', which was composed with special reference to the seventeenth century. This study, which probably represents Drinkwater's criticism at its best, reaffirms the judgement that this 'unfinished history' does in no way do him justice. It must be added that St. John Ervine, in an interesting prefatory note, forms a far more favourable estimate of this volume than the present notice would suggest.

G. Wilson Knight, whose studies in Shakespearian imagery and symbolism are well known, now applies his methods to the examination⁹ of other poets with essays on Spenser, Milton, Swift, Pope, and Byron. It can be urged that as Knight proceeds in his criticism he continues to evolve a special vocabulary which can only be understood if one reads his work as a whole. This makes any brief summary of his volume impossible. He opens with an essay on 'The Shakespearian Integrity' which is a summary of his conclusions on Shakespeare. His argument centres on 'the interdependence of deep spiritual understanding and a wide sensuous receptivity' in Shakespeare's work. There follows a study entitled 'The Frozen Labyrinth: An Essay on Milton', and Wilson Knight justly remarks at the beginning that 'this cannot be an easy essay'. He examines Milton's use of imagery, but the main argument is closely related to that of the Shakespeare essay. He discovers in Milton an isolation and distrust of the sensory, combined with an attraction towards it. Further, Milton, unlike Shakespeare, is unable to combine the sensory with his spiritual vision, and this leads to the limitations which Wilson Knight discovers in the later work. 'Swift and the Symbolism of Irony' is a less ambitious but informing study in prose style and imagery.

An elaborate essay on Pope follows, entitled 'The Vital Flame'. Knight's conclusions are surprising, and it may be

⁹ *The Burning Oracle*, by G. Wilson Knight. O.U.P. pp. vi+292. 12s. 6d.

well here to state them without an attempt at comment. The simplest part of the study is an analysis of Pope's imagery, and here Knight has some interesting observations, particularly on the use of ritual in Pope's phrases. This discovery he employs by returning to the argument of the Shakespeare essay on the union of the spiritual and the sensory which he discovers again in Pope's work; 'a synthesis of the sexual and religious is often organic in the humour of *The Rape of the Lock*.' Further, in a long analysis of the *Essay on Man*, and of other poems, he finds, despite superficial differences, a Shakespearian kinship in Pope, 'in subject, emotional sympathy and general control'. It might be urged that the 'superficial differences' are far more fundamental than Knight will allow, and that Pope would not have recognized himself in this study, though of course to a psychological critic that is a matter of little importance. Whatever may be one's judgement on his main argument, it must be conceded that here, as often elsewhere, Knight is illuminating in his individual observations and that they are valuable even to those who find the main argument incredible. The conclusions of a long essay on Byron, 'The Two Eternities', are again not to be stated briefly. The easiest terms of reference are those of the Shakespeare essay, for Knight finds in Byron the same approach to the sensuous, though now with more direct attack, and a triumph which is ultimately spiritual. The study concludes with a panegyric of Byron's poetry which is movingly written, though one might question the statement that in all Byron's verse 'there is scarcely one really weak line and perhaps not an obscure idea'.

Louis Macneice has made a study of the younger contemporary poets¹⁰ which is valuable in that it brings a measured and objective attitude to the examination of their work. The earlier sections are autobiographical and are a useful record of the changing taste of the last decades. The most valuable chapters are those on Imagery, Rhythm, Rhyme, Diction, and Obscurity. Macneice does little to relate his findings to those which have already been published on these themes, but his awareness of the intentions of the younger poets gives his own conclusions

¹⁰ *Modern Poetry*, by Louis Macneice. O.U.P. pp. 205. 7s. 6d.

an interest. He is balanced, too, in his analysis of the relation of poetry to politics, and to revolutionary conceptions of society.

M. R. Ridley has published in an expanded form a series of talks on poetry that were designed for popular audiences.¹¹ The volume is on traditional lines, and there is little that calls for comment. Ridley has a talent for dealing with some of the more obvious problems of imagery and rhythm with clarity, and the same virtue can be discovered in his concluding comments on contemporary verse.

The *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxiii, of the English Association have two contributions of a general character.¹² *The Technique of Criticism: Classical*, by G. M. Young, is a brief essay, and in the main a complaint against contemporary criticism, especially such as is found in the reviewing of books. From a re-reading of Dionysius of Halicarnassus he estimates the merits of the classical technique: 'classical criticism is a form of public service, and therefore always veering towards rules and regulations and red tape: that is its weakness. While romantic criticism is rather a private indulgence, with its moments doubtless of inspiration and rapture, such as are believed sometimes to follow an indulgence of another sort.' Frank Swinnerton on *Variations of Form in the Novel* contributes an interesting paper suggesting that contemporary criticism exaggerates the importance of form and technique in the novel. He suggests that the changes since Richardson have been fewer and less spectacular than is often affirmed. At the same time he is far from arguing that the novel has remained static, and he examines the 'variations' in a discerning way.

G. S. Gordon contributes a general essay to the transactions of the Royal Society of Literature¹³ on *The Lives of Authors*.

¹¹ *Poetry and the Ordinary Reader*, by M. R. Ridley. Dent. pp. vii + 151. 3s. 6d.

¹² *Essays and Studies*, by members of the English Association, vol. xxiii, collected by S. C. Roberts. O.U.P. pp. 92. 7s. 6d.

¹³ *Essays by Divers Hands: Transactions of the R.S.L.* New Series, vol. xvii, ed. by E. H. W. Meyerstein. O.U.P. pp. ix + 136. 7s.

He speculates in an attractive manner on the increased interest in literary biography. The men of letters, he shows, are treated with an almost alarming generosity in the *Dictionary of National Biography* so that the lives of some minor writers have been made more familiar than those of eminent statesmen.

Studies in English,¹⁴ by members of the University of Texas, include twelve essays of which the most important to readers of *Y.W.* may be noticed. Two are of medieval interest. Elmer B. Attwood queries whether 'Robert Mannyng's Version of the Troy Story' is derived, as is usually held, from Dares Phrygius. Martin M. Crow discusses the dialectical features of '*The Reeve's Tale* in the hands of a North Midland Scribe', namely the scribe of the Paris MS. of *The Canterbury Tales* (Brit. Nat. MS. Anglais 39). There are two Shakespearian essays. Mozelle S. Allen from an examination of names of characters and places and other details makes a case for 'Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* as a source for the *Valentine-Silvia* plot in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*'. John H. Schultz provides a useful 'Glossary of Shakespeare's Hawking Language' and gives reasons for his belief that the dramatist had himself flown hawks.

Willis W. Pratt in 'Leigh Hunt and *The Rambler*' gives a list of marginalia and underlinings by Hunt in vols. iii and iv of the original four-volume set of *The Rambler* in the library of President Andrew D. White of Cornell. He shows the light that they throw on Hunt's 'romantic' critical attitude towards Johnson. Alice L. Cooke contributes 'Some Evidences of Hawthorne's Indebtedness to Swift', finding the influence of *Gulliver's Travels* in at least six of his narratives. Joseph C. Mathews raises the question, 'Did Poe read Dante?', and concludes that there is no convincing evidence that he read more than the *Inferno*, and this may have been in translation.

The most general of the studies in this scholarly volume is by Harry Ransom on 'The Rewards of Authorship in the Eighteenth Century'. From an examination of the evidence furnished by copyright contracts, of which he gives details in various classes of literature, Ransom takes the view that pro-

¹⁴ *Studies in English*. The University of Texas, Austin, U.S.A. pp. 205.

fessional authors were, as a whole, much better off than we should gather from the descriptions of Grub Street.

A number of anthologies have been published during the course of the year. W. H. Auden has added to the Oxford anthologies with a selection of light verse.¹⁵ As might be expected, Auden interprets his task in an individual way. To *vers de société* he pays little attention, and he defines light verse as, (1) poetry written for performance, to be spoken or sung before an audience, (2) poetry intended to be read, but having for its subject-matter the everyday social life of its period, or the experiences of the poet as a human being, (3) such nonsense poetry as, through its properties and technique, has a general appeal. As a result the volume includes a number of pieces that are unexpected, *The Miller's Tale*, *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, and *Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift*. It may be felt that Auden has departed rather violently from the normal interpretation of his title, but it cannot be denied that he has made a lively volume. It is difficult even by his own definition to know why he includes Siegfried Sassoon's terrible poem, 'The General'; on the other hand, he finds a place for a number of popular pieces which are not frequently recorded.

Norman Ault continues his admirable and self-appointed task of discovering unfamiliar lyrics. The present collection¹⁶ includes the best of the less-known and unknown lyrics in the English language from 1500 to the beginning of the copyright period. Ault has examined the works of upwards of three thousand poets, and a similar number of miscellanies, periodicals, song books, and manuscripts. From a tentative choice of some seventeen hundred poems, he has made a final selection of 833 lyrics, representing 501 named poets. He has excluded any poem that has appeared in *The Golden Treasury* or *The Oxford Book of English Verse*. Among the new poems from manuscripts are two by Herrick, and one each by Habington and the Countess of Winchilsea. In addition there are thirty poems,

¹⁵ *The Oxford Book of Light Verse*, chosen by W. H. Auden. O.U.P. pp. xxiv+553. 8s. 6d.

¹⁶ *A Treasury of Unfamiliar Lyrics*, by Norman Ault. Gollancz. pp. 672. 7s. 6d.

most of them of the seventeenth century, whose authors are either unknown or unfamiliar. Apart from this, Ault has a formidable list of well-known poets, who are represented by poems which have been overlooked by their editors. The volume is surprising in its richness, and justifies Ault's claim that apart from these lesser-known pieces from the great poets he has been able to record 'poems of rare and unexpected beauty though written by poets of little or no fame, and much anonymous work of exquisite felicity'.

Fernand Baldensperger has made an anthology of translations¹⁷ from English and American poets from Spenser to the present day. His work is a poetical essay in interpretation, and he records in his introduction that though Goethe commented on the impossibilities of translation he also wrote to Carlyle, 'la traduction lui semblait l'une des activités les plus importantes et les plus méritoires dans l'ensemble du monde'. His own selection contains a hundred pieces, and many of them of the most difficult, including Drummond and Donne. Apart from Baldensperger's own skill in translation, this volume is a piece of creative criticism of real importance.

Margaret and Desmond Flower have published an anthology¹⁸ of English poems, arranged according to periods beginning, apart from 'The Cuckoo Song', with Chaucer and ending with contemporary writers. The selection is well balanced, and is particularly representative in the modern period.

Kenneth Muir has prepared an anthology¹⁹ for the Society for the Teachers of English which is designed to improve the methods of teaching poetry. For this purpose it is admirably arranged. The best-known poems are omitted, and the names of the authors, the dates, and the apparatus of notes are placed at the end of the volume. The reader has therefore to make his own judgement on the pieces instead of accepting received opinion.

¹⁷ *D'Edmond Spenser à Alan Seeger*, par Fernand Baldensperger. Harvard and O.U. Presses. pp. x+94. 5s. 6d.

¹⁸ *Cassell's Anthology of English Poetry*, by Margaret and Desmond Flower. Cassell. pp. xxv+478. 6s.

¹⁹ *English Poetry*, selected by Kenneth Muir. O.U.P. pp. v+306. 5s.

Gwendolen Murphy has compiled an anthology²⁰ of modern poetry of the last two decades. The selection is well constructed and the notes deserve particular commendation. American as well as English poets have been included.

John Gawsworth has attempted in a single volume,²¹ with a selection of two hundred and thirty poems, to cover the last fifty years of English poetry. His aim apparently has been to pay less attention to some of the well known names and to search for talent among lesser writers. Some of his discoveries are interesting, but the volume seems rather ill-balanced, and not a few of the pieces could have been, without loss, omitted.

Finally, on the border-line between the fields of literature and language we may note Bernard Groom's essay on the formation and use of compound epithets in English poetry from 1579.²² It opens with an interesting classification of compound epithets according to their grammatical formation, though he realizes that this is not in itself a helpful guide to the poetic consideration of the problem: poetic language 'is learned by poets from the practice of each other; every original writer stamps language with some power of expression unknown before'. Groom therefore proceeds to give an account of the employment of compound epithets by poets from Spenser onwards.

²⁰ *The Modern Poet*, by Gwendolen Murphy. Sidgwick and Jackson. pp. xviii+208. 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.

²¹ *Fifty Years of Modern Verse*, by John Gawsworth. Secker. pp. 283. 6s.

²² *The Formation and Use of Compound Epithets in English Poetry from 1579*, by Bernard Groom. S.P.E. Tract, No. XLIX. O.U.P. pp. 30. 2s. 6d.

II

PHILOLOGY: GENERAL WORKS

By MARJORIE DAUNT

WITH every year that passes the interest of this section seems to lie more and more in the language of the present day and especially in the spoken language. This is the best thing that could happen to serious study of English past and present. There is only one language that can be examined fully with some hope of comprehensive results and that, of course, is our own as we speak it at the moment. This might seem so obvious as to make the repetition foolish, but unfortunately for the 'historical' study of language a real knowledge of the facts, forms, and functions of the spoken tongue has not always been required as an essential equipment for research in the past. The work of 1938 follows this new line. There is a large group of studies in various phonetic directions, an even larger number relating to questions of function. The historical or dynamic investigation is much less than the static, and this is as it should be.

These functional studies may well be headed by two useful theses. Victor Engblom writes *On the Origin and early Development of the Auxiliary 'Do'*.¹ This study is valuable in the first place for the enormous amount of material collected and ordered. In all, seventy writings or collections of writings have been searched and their examples of *do* arranged. If any criticism could be made of this scholarly foundation, it is that all the works are already in print and no search has been made in unpublished sources. The work is divided into two parts, the origin of the auxiliary *do*, and its early development. The conclusion as to the origin is that there are two different sources, the pro-verb giving rise to the emphatic use of *do* and the causative to the unemphatic. This theory cannot be held to be proved conclusively. The author himself admits that some of

¹ *On the Origin and Early Development of the Auxiliary 'Do'*, by Victor Engblom. Lund Studies in English, vi. Williams & Norgate, pp. 171. Kr. 8.

the early examples are a little doubtful. This theory, which runs counter to the more generally accepted idea that the causative was the source of both usages, should nevertheless prove a stimulating bone of dissension. The second part produces the conclusions that the auxiliary in affirmative declarative sentences appears at the end of the thirteenth century in poetry, and from the beginning of the fifteenth century in prose. *Do* as part of a negative declarative sentence, except for one isolated example from the thirteenth century, does not really appear till the beginning of the fifteenth; from that time on the examples steadily increase in numbers. From the fourteenth century come the earliest traces of *do* in positive or negative questions, and by the end of the seventeenth century the use is almost modern.

The main contention of the thesis, namely, the separation into the pro-verb and causative lines of origin, may be and has been contested, but the work is a very sound foundation for any research in the subject and a pattern of clarity of method.

The second important study is that of Fernand Mossé on the *-ing* form in the Germanic languages.² This exhaustive examination of a construction which is characteristic of English, and is very much alive to-day, is welcome. Mossé has done the patient collecting of uses which is necessary for the formation of conclusions, but from which so many brave hearts shrink. In Part I he deals with *to be* + *ing* constructions. After an introduction on Indo-European uses, which he deduces from various descendants (Latin, Greek, &c.), he turns to the Germanic languages and examines the occurrences in each. The conclusion reached is that these constructions in the Germanic languages are not derived from Indo-European but are a secondary importation from translations of Greek and Latin and particularly the Vulgate. He emphasizes the extraordinary frequency of the uses in Old English, where they occur, in the overwhelming majority of cases, in translations.

The second and even mightier volume collects and groups uses in Middle and Modern English, with consideration of such

² *Histoire de la Forme Périphrastique 'être' + Participe Présent en Germanique*, by Fernand Mossé. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.

questions as foreign influences and phonetic developments leading to confusion of constructions. Nothing but gratitude should be felt for the way in which Mossé has charted the confusing tides of Middle English. By listing the uses in all the main Middle English writings he has been able to draw definite conclusions as to its geographical and temporal distribution. The section dealing with Modern English is perhaps the least satisfactory—though here again one hesitates to disparage a brave effort. Modern English is so elastic and elusive that it is barely susceptible of classification and some of the distinctions appear to be a little strained.

Other work on this aspect of the subject is mainly to be found in articles in periodicals. Asta Kihlbom deals with the *Present Subjunctive in Conditional Clauses* (*Studia Neophilologica*, xi. 257 ff.). The first part of the article is a survey of the chief theories of explanation of the subjunctive in conditional clauses as found in the Germanic languages. Dr. Kihlbom sums up the views of previous writers. She goes on to point out that valuable as the study of this construction is in the early forms of the languages, it should be followed up in later English, as only there did it survive the early period. Towards the end of the Old English period the subjunctive in volitional contexts was often replaced by the indicative, and sometimes appeared in conditional clauses in non-volitional contexts. The use of the subjunctive increased in Middle English; the indicative frequently used in Old English is not the prevailing form in any Middle English work, and the subjunctive seems to have been in general use in colloquial speech in the late fifteenth century. In early Middle English the use is rather confused, and there is a tendency to level to the indicative or subjunctive. The developments in Middle English suggest that the subjunctive form was still a living one, which fact appears to Dr. Kihlbom to rule out many earlier explanations and to support the view of Behre, who regarded these usages as volitional-meditative. The argument would have been even clearer if a few illustrations had been added.

Charles C. Fries publishes *Some Notes on the Inflected Genitive in Present-Day English* (*Language*, April/June). He has had

access to a store of material for the study of colloquial English, namely, about three thousand letters copied from the files of the Government at Washington. This has enabled him to make a statistical survey of the use of the genitive with sure knowledge of the type of English in which it is employed. The results prove that the variety of uses of the genitive is as great now as in the earlier periods of the language. This conclusion is valuable in view of the frequent statements to the contrary of distinguished grammarians. It is seen that the inflected genitives of pronouns are still used almost as frequently as ever, and that those of nouns have largely disappeared and been replaced by the use of *of*, and 'by the great increase of the use of the noun in those genitival and adjunct relations with no formal distinction except word-order'.

A most interesting point is the confirmation of the right of existence of the construction with the pronoun in the dative-accusative form, or the uninflected noun, with an *-ing* form of the verb, e.g. 'that led to me being questioned', 'Nothing was said about his mother receiving it'. In the case of nouns the use was so frequent as to be the normal practice; in the case of pronouns the balance was about half and half. A useful article for new English studies.

In *The pseudo-pronoun 'So'* by A. Dekker (*Neophilologus*, xxiii. 2) a number of examples are collected and examined of the use of *so* (or *swa*) from the Old English period on, the uses being those which Dekker describes as 'pronoun equivalent', a use often difficult to disentangle from the semi-adverbial = *thus*, and frequently confused by sound and renowned grammarians. The value of this little study lies in its elasticity of outlook and refusal to accept rigid grammatical categories.

Du nom propre et du nom commun by E. Buyssens (*Neophilologus*, xxiii. 2) is a critical examination, from the philosophical and sociological point of view, of the traditional and respectably sponsored classification of nouns into 'common' and 'proper', and especially the definition of the 'proper' noun as 'un nom propre ne convient qu'à une seule personne, ou à une seule chose prise en particulier'. A number of interesting conclusions

are reached as to the nature of the proper noun, such as its value as a social aid to linguistic clarity—a thing so valuable in establishing certain selected aspects that society usually regulates its use by legal support.

Eilert Ekwall, in *English 'fond', an Etymological and Semasiological Study* (*Studia Neophilologica*, xi. 289 ff.), has provided in fourteen full passages a model of intensive treatment of one word. In the first part its occurrences as recorded by established dictionaries (*O.E.D.*, &c.) are grouped and analysed with an admirable attention to the contexts in which the word is used. This leads to the conclusions (1) that the adjective is the most probable starting-point, and (2) that the normal Middle English form was *fonn-*. The geographical distribution of the forms makes a Scandinavian origin the likely one, and Ekwall suggests a connexion with a group of words found in various Scandinavian dialects, some of the examples being taken from sources not hitherto explored. This group has its centre in the idea of 'rotting', 'crumbling', 'decaying', but not 'stinking'; O.N. *fúinn* means 'rotten'. All the Scandinavian forms quoted have a kindred meaning, and the author suggests that from 'tasteless' to 'foolish', 'insipid' would be an easy sense development. The phonological difficulties are satisfactorily dealt with.

Keltischer Einfluß im Englischen by Walther Preusler (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, lvi. 3) is a short article suggesting possible Celtic influence on present-day English constructions and colloquial usages. It is divided into sections under special heads, such as the so-called 'Gerund' (*Laying of papers on your table, or counting numbers on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger*), on the common use of *it is* to begin a sentence (*It is you I love, not what you look like*), against which the writer puts Welsh constructions which are closely parallel. The conclusion reached is that Celtic influence has played a large part in the building of Modern English. The line of research suggested here should be fruitful and badly needs working. A London doctoral thesis a few years back on the English Language in Ireland from 1400 to 1700 produced a similar conclusion that the influence of Ireland on England

even in the Middle Ages has been underestimated if not overlooked. Preusler, in conclusion, emphasizes the fact that in many respects English has un-Germanic, and Welsh un-Indo-European features which have already been noticed by other scholars, and which may well be traceable to an earlier race of inhabitants overrun by the Indo-European invaders.

A short but weighty article by C. B. Bazell (*J.E.G.P.* xxxvii. 3) *On Form and Function* is an answer to Jespersen's article (*J.E.G.P.* xxxv) which maintained that there is need of a constructive theory of the relation between 'function' and 'meaning' and suggested *morphoseme* as a term for the meeting-ground of form and notion. Bazell puts forward a suggested 'constructive theory' based on the idea that the meeting-grounds are two, 'the *morphoseme* (function), as defined by Jespersen, which is a significative category (e.g. of case, or tense), capable of corresponding to a phonic (formal) distinction, and the phonemic quality (e.g. of sonority or intensity), a phonic category capable of corresponding to a notional (significative) distinction'.

Turning next to some work which is more strictly phonetic, we find a whole group of studies of a similar kind, meticulous analyses of sounds and intonation used by speakers in records. The best and most interesting is that of Hans Krause of the speech of Professor Daniel Jones.³ This is a study with some value since it is ambitious, as experimental phonetics of this kind should be, and attempts to relate its results with the historical development of language. It is also useful since it examines the speech of one man in a fair number of varied examples. The results suggest a useful line of research, a break-away from the older philology which produced 'sound-laws' from the collection of single words in manuscripts, to a method of examining the word in function. The tables provided would be useful to philologists, though it is to be regretted that the international phonetic table of symbols was not followed—a mixed system of international and Berlin is apt to obscure the facts.

³ *Intonation und Lautgebung in der englischen Aussprache des Prof. Daniel Jones*, by Hans Krause. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 28+103. RM. 8.

The researches carried out in the English Seminar in Breslau by Käthe Büttner, Käthe Frank, and Gerda Kozmiensky on *Intonation und Vokalqualität in englischen Mundarten*⁴ are in the line of linguistic research which has already yielded some good results, the study of the effect of intonation on vowel quality. Wilhelm Horn, who writes the introductory note, has already given us his valuable *Tonbewegung und Klangfarbe der Vokale im Englischen* (*Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, Camb. Univ. Press, 1935), and for an understanding of the causes of sound change this kind of work should be followed up. Unfortunately the three unpretentious little theses are less valuable than they might be, partly because they are entirely based on records of the speech of prisoners of war in the last war, who were asked to record a passage from the Scriptures which must in most cases introduce an element of artificiality into their speech, even if the uncertainties of gramophone recording did not weaken the results arrived at to some extent. More serious is the fact that the workers have not attempted to record the sounds on the basis of the cardinal vowel scale; their definitions of their phonetic symbols are based on a mixture of English, French, and German words, 'i wie in englisch *bit*, e wie in franz. *été*'. What form of English *bit*? The chief interest lies in the confirmation of the relations between sinking of the voice and lowering of the vowel.

Ruth Hohenstein's *Intonation und Vokalqualität in den englischen Mundarten von Norfolk und Suffolk*⁵ is another example of the synthetic record-dialect research. It is no doubt accurate, but almost valueless from the scientific point of view. The material on which it is based is slight, three speakers repeating the story of the Prodigal Son on records.

Another thesis in the same group is that of Hans-Oskar Wilde, *Der Industrie-Dialekt von Birmingham*.⁶ The material is taken

⁴ *Intonation und Vokalqualität in englischen Mundarten*: Untersuchungen von Käthe Büttner, Käthe Frank und Gerda Kozmiensky. Breslau: Priebatsch. pp. 90. RM. 4.80.

⁵ *Intonation und Vokalqualität in den englischen Mundarten von Norfolk und Suffolk*, by Ruth Hohenstein. Berlin: de Gruyter. pp. 21+26 tables. RM. 3.

⁶ *Der Industrie-Dialekt von Birmingham: Intonation und Sprachvariante*, by Hans-Oskar Wilde. Halle: Niemeyer. pp. vii+88. RM. 3.40.

from records and the writings of Graham Squiers. It is very full, and covers vowel quality, quantity, intonation. It should be, within the limits inherent in this kind of work, very useful.

We should be grateful to Eduard Eckhardt (*Die konsonantische Dissimilation im Englischen. Anglia*, lxii. 1/4) for the numerous examples he has collected of the interchange of *l* and *r*, *r* and *l*, *m* and *n*, &c. (e.g. *purple* and *purpur* of OE. and ME., Lat. *purpurem*); and for the clear way in which he has laid out his material in paragraphs and given a small word index at the end. It is the more to be regretted that he has omitted a consideration of the phonetic value of the forms he deals with when working out phenomena which are essentially those of speech. The possible relationship of the stressed to the unstressed use of the word, even words as important as noun and adjective, to the interchange, or loss, of consonants which is known as dissimilation might well throw light on this obscure question—and it would be interesting to know what special *l* or *r* is most likely to be the one affected—and if it may have existed in the language in question at that period.

In *The Phoneme Development of Spirants in English* (*English Studies*, Feb.) B. Trnka has an interesting article showing that the development of OE. *f*, *s*, *þ*, phonemes (in which [*v*], [*z*], and [*ð*] were only subsidiary forms), when they split in Middle English into six phonemes instead of three, led to the voicing of the voiceless sounds in such words as *was*, *is*, *with*, &c., and not Verner's law, as Jespersen suggests.

In the same number is a *Note on Case* by C. E. Bazell which cannot justly be summarized but is valuable.

Die Anfänge der wissenschaftlichen und praktischen Phonetik in England by Martin Lehnert (*Archiv*, 173–4) is a detailed historical account of the development of the science of phonetics in England. The contribution of each worker is analysed, and often described very fully. Lehnert shows how Bell was to a great extent anticipated by Robert Robinson (1617) and John Wallis (1653). Robinson is particularly interesting as introducing the method of distinguishing vowels by their position of tongue in relation to the palate.

Theoretic phonetics is considered in one section, and practical in another. Wallis again appears as a leader, in 1660 and 1661, by teaching deaf and dumb people, and letters from him describing his methods survive.

Logic and Linguistics: Diderot as Grammairien-Philosophe by H. J. Hunt (*M.L.R.* xxxiii. 2) hardly comes within the scope of this section, but is mentioned here because it is so interesting from the aspect of linguistic philosophy.

In *Phonetik und Kultur*, G. Panconcelli-Calzia,⁷ Director of the Phonetic Laboratories at Hamburg, has produced a volume of essays of which the first, 'Sprechen und Singen in der bildenden Kunst', is especially interesting, not only for various suggestive ideas relating speech to art, but for the series of well-chosen reproductions of famous works with which it is illustrated. The author's research was stimulated by Leonardo da Vinci's *Libro della pittura*, especially the passage where Leonardo says that human figures in painting ought to take poses which agree with what they are doing so that when you see the pose you know what is being said and done. The main theme of the essay is an attempt to discover under what conditions active speech can be suitably introduced into pictorial art, the chief difficulty being that speech is a continuous series of movements and not the momentary fixation of any one.

What are often described as 'historical' language studies are represented this year by a diminished number of articles and books. W. Matthews's *History of the Cockney dialect*⁸ should take place of honour, though in most respects it is of the modern school. Matthews sets out to prove that Cockney is a respectable dialect of ancient lineage, worthy to be considered beside the county dialects, and of extreme importance in relation to the growth of so-called 'standard English'. In addition to the documentary evidence, much of it new, which the author has gathered to illustrate the historical growth of Cockney from the sixteenth century, there is much valuable present-day material

⁷ *Phonetik und Kultur*, by G. Panconcelli-Calzia. Hamburg: Hansischer Gildenverlag. pp. 180.

⁸ *Cockney Past and Present*, by William Matthews. G. Routledge. pp. xv+245. 10s. 6d.

collected from living speakers, especially his mother, whose memory for phrases and songs is amazing, and from music-halls and other odd corners of the town. There is a very good chapter on vocabulary and a special point is made of the Cockney tendency to adopt clichés, a tendency which can be traced strongly, at the present moment, in the frequent exclamations of 'mind my bike' and 'a rill mill'.

The section on the rise of London English of the better sort to the dignity of a 'standard' is well documented and worked out. A slight criticism might be made of the confusion of sound and letter in the use of phonetic symbols and terms such as 'short *u*', 'long *a*', with no clear indication of the period to which they refer. A section might have been added on Cockney intonation which is extremely significant and characteristic.

Matthews has undoubtedly proved his case. The phonetic habits of Cockneys in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries agree very much with those of their descendants to-day. This book is not only a good bit of special pleading, but a storehouse of useful material.

Matthews has also published *Variant Pronunciations in the Seventeenth Century* (*J.E.G.P.* xxxvii. 2). Some very valuable evidence is here offered for the existence of several types of pronunciation at the same time in the speech of educated people in the seventeenth century. A good deal of new material is brought forward from the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, and the phonetic spellings of good-class writers are examined. The orthoepists, like most writers on language till the last few years, firmly insisted on a 'right' and 'wrong', and were unwilling to admit variant types of pronunciation, which succeeding generations have often termed 'vulgar'. Even among the authorities, however, there was not complete agreement. The same criticism as to the classification of sounds that is made about *Cockney Past and Present* is to be repeated here, but the article is very valuable as considerably widening the seventeenth-century field.

Another important book is *L'Ordre des Éléments de la phrase en germanique ancien*, by J. Fourquet,⁹ who rightly has re-

⁹ *L'Ordre des Éléments de la phrase en germanique ancien*, by J. Four-

examined, or rather microscopically examined, the existing material to discover the important facts of Germanic word-order, with an absolutely open mind and no bias in favour of ancestral grammar and syntax. The facts of word-order are those of which we are least conscious in our native tongue and which stand out when we attempt to learn a foreign one. These facts have unfortunately been almost entirely neglected by the historical grammar experts. The outstanding fact is the change of viewpoint from the conception of a 'normal' order which can be 'inverted' to that of consideration of the position in the sentence of certain important elements, *syntaxe de position, éléments de phrase*. A neat critical survey of previous important work, followed by an equally neat exposition of the method to be followed and the problems involved, serves as introduction. The body of the work consists of a series of sections on (1) the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* up to 891; (2) after 891; (3) the OHG. *Isidore*; (4) *Beowulf* and the *Héliand*; (5) Scandinavian prose and poetry; (6) the Gothic Gospels. The first two sections are the most important for English. The complications of adjustment in Anglo-Saxon show a state of language where an old word-order is no longer satisfactory and is being replaced by a new. Several syntactical facts have to be regarded as of equal importance and interdependent, and they produce to a certain extent a 'neutral order', which can be used for principal or for subordinate clause, and which exists side by side with more definite types of word-order; for example, considered in this light, the *Chronicle* shows plainly the movement of the simple verb. Each section ends with a statement of conclusions drawn and the whole work ends with a discreet comparison of these conclusions and a selection of those fundamental to the Germanic language.

C. E. Bazell writes on *Four West Germanic Verbal Endings* (*Neophilologus*, xxiii. 1). These are (1) the OHG. 2nd person plural Indicative in *-it* (*Moxee Fragments*); (2) the OE. (West Saxon) termination *-e* of the 1st singular Present Indicative; (3) the 2nd person singular Subjunctive in West Germanic; and quet. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Univ. de Strasbourg, N° 86.

(4) OHG. *Willa*. The problems connected with these are presented and a suggestion is offered.

Gill's Account of English 'Long a' is a note by W. S. Mackie (*M.L.R.* xxxiii. 1). It points out that Gill's identification of a vowel written *a* with the German *maal*, *haar*, only applies to *a* in *tall* and similar words, and that Gill's pronunciation of *a* in *tale* was in all probability [æ:].

Herbert Zoziol publishes (*Anglia*, lxii. 1/4) *Zur Syntax der englischen Urkundensprache des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. The Middle English records printed by Fladieck and Mossbach have been carefully examined, and syntactical uses classified under the heads of the use of the article, noun, adjective, adverb, pronoun, numerals, verb, preposition, negation, and word-order.

The chief value of *Grammatica Anglicana von P. Gr. (1594)*, edited by Otto Funke,¹⁰ is not the work of 'P. Gr.' but the introduction by Otto Funke, which contains a detailed analysis and comparison of the *Grammatica* with that of Petrus Ramus (*alias* Pierre de la Ramée), who was killed in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and whose Latin Grammar is the source of this rather feeble copy. The Latin Grammar is important for the general study of linguistics. P. Gr. also added a *Vocabula Chauceriana Quaedam Selectiora*, which is here reprinted.

Some important work has been done in the field of Semantics, which elastic term can cover two or more ways of approaching the subject.

The Tyranny of Words by Stuart Chase¹¹ is the offspring of the desire which has grown of late years for exactness in language, for words that shall mean all things to all men, for the 'de-bunking' of abstractions, only used to cover the confused and feeble workings of the speaker's mind. This desire has shown itself in the work of sociologists and linguists and has

¹⁰ See further below, Chapter IX, p. 154.

¹¹ *The Tyranny of Words*, by Stuart Chase. Methuen. pp. 287. 10s. 6d.

now reached an economist. Chase plunges into the stream as an amateur, but vigorous, swimmer. His nineteen chapters are planned to rouse the attention of the ordinary reader to the confusions of expression of which we are all guilty, and to the confusion of thought which is at once the cause and the result of such expression. Such a work, unless undertaken with profound linguistic knowledge and imagination, must needs be largely destructive criticism. Chapter after chapter weighs the professional uses of words and finds most of them wanting: primitive people; mathematicians; philosophers; logicians; economists, Right or Left; judges—all except the mathematicians are found using words and phrases which have no *referent* and so are becoming a danger, a source of hostility and misunderstanding between man and man. The appendix contains extracts from serious utterances of well-known writers and public men, with a semantic examination of the proportion of sense and nonsense in each. The analysis is good and begins disarmingly with an extract by the author himself.

The Wonder of Words by Isaac Goldberg¹² is written for the intelligent layman and is planned with imagination. It sets out to be an introduction to language and the chapter headings are delightful, 'The word as magic', 'A local habitation and a name', 'Child and woman in language', &c. In spite of a great wealth of interesting material and really original points of view, the book suffers from somewhat vague lines of argument, and from a lack of exact technical linguistic knowledge, 'The smallest sound unit of a word is called a phoneme', p. 323. It also just misses modernity; '*books* has a morpheme since *s* indicates plurality', but only when written; spoken it is neutral. The range of ideas is excellent, e.g. language is compared with Italian Opera, and the list of works consulted shows the width of the author's interests.

A very useful introduction to the study of surnames is C. L'Estrange Ewen's *A Guide to the Origin of British Surnames*; ¹³

¹² *The Wonder of Words*, by Isaac Goldberg. N.Y.: Appleton-Century Co. pp. xii+485. \$3.75.

¹³ *A Guide to the Origin of British Surnames*, by C. L'E. Ewen. John Gifford.

much of it is a simplified form of the work of the same author published in 1931, *History of the Surnames of the British Isles*. Stress is very properly laid on the great possibility of mistake lying before the researcher who jumps too quickly to conclusions. A main contention is that nicknames played only a very small part in the development of surnames, and that such names as *Nightingale* were not necessarily, or even probably, bestowed on a singer, but in their earliest recorded form may point to a quite different origin. This is a sound doctrine to follow, but the numerous cases where names come from personal attributes, e.g. *Long shanks*, &c., seem near enough to the nickname class. The book is well arranged and well documented.

The aim of Marianne Knorrek in *Der Einfluß des Rationalismus auf die englische Sprache*¹⁴ is to explain the linguistic developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by correlation with the social and intellectual life of the time, by tracing the expression of 'rationalism' in language. This synthesis of social background with linguistic phenomena is often talked about but seldom worked out in fact, and the attempt deserves credit. A first section gives a brief survey of the social background, and of the methods to be employed; the main part of the work consists of illustrations of various syntactical usages, and the changes affecting them, from the selected documents; and the last section is a brief summary of the results.

A fair criticism would be that while the book is useful within its limits, as presenting collected material, it does not gain from the rather ambitious statement of its aims and conclusions. The material handled does not justify such weighty conclusions as appear in the summing up, and the severely linguistic nature of the constructions dealt with leaves the spirit of the ages still elusive.

Frank B. Blake in *A Study of Language from the Semantic Point of View* (*Indogermanische Forschungen*, lvi. 4) suggests, tentatively, a scheme for an approach to the study of Language,

¹⁴ *Der Einfluß des Rationalismus auf die englische Sprache*, by Marianne Knorrek. Breslau: Priebatsch. pp. xiii + 128. RM. 6.

which he describes as an attempt to deal with *static* semantics. 'Formal grammar', he says, 'answers the question—What does this form mean? semasiological grammar, the question, what form is used to express this idea?' He suggests a combination of two or more categories, all based on sense, e.g. between simple (*man*) and combinative meanings (*railroad station*), or combinations of modifying words with various parts of speech. These categories are sketched, but their application is not discussed in detail. The conception is so well in tune with modern trends in linguistic research and thought that it would be of great interest and value if it were followed up with a fuller and more elaborate article showing the positive results produced by such a grammatical method.

The volume produced this year by the English Place-Name Society is on Hertfordshire¹⁵ and offers to the student the comprehensive and interesting material (and references) we have come to expect of this series. The county boundaries of Hertfordshire are obviously artificial; the place-names throw only a faint light on early history, but indicate that Hertfordshire cannot have become a region of primary Anglo-Saxon settlement. This is endorsed by archaeological evidence, which offers few remains of the pagan period, a period only represented by such place-names as *Grims Ditch* (reference to Woden); *Wainwood* (*wain*? *wīg*, *wēoh*, 'sacred place'); *Thundridge* (*Thunor-ridge*) and *Tewin* ('associated with the god Tiw').

Celtic names are exceedingly rare (cf. *Chiltern*, *Mimms* (?), *Verulamium*, the river-names *Beane*, *Colne*, *Lea*, *Mimram*, and probably *Ickneild* (way)) and would seem to show that the Anglo-Saxon invasion obliterated the British life of the area. In addition, however, just as in Yorkshire there were indications of an Anglo-Scandinavian language being spoken, so in Hertfordshire the early name *Bene ficcan* (cf. modern *Beane*) points to a late survival. Scandinavian influence shows in *Beckfield*, *Elbrook*, and in a few minor personal names like *Fellowsfield*, *Gamals Hall*, and *Gunnel's Wood*. As for Norman-French influence, it is only slight.

¹⁵ *The Place-names of Hertfordshire*, by J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton. C.U.P. pp. xliii+342. 18s.

An especially interesting feature in the volume is the giving of the local pronunciation, i.e. *Sawbridgeworth*. The phonological introduction is perhaps a shade too definite. The volume contains addenda and corrigenda for the counties already published and a set of maps indicating the distribution of certain types of place-names.

Eric Partridge has brought out a supplement to his dictionary of slang.¹⁶ A glance at his list of words and phrases shows that the majority are unfamiliar. They are drawn from heterogeneous sources; irregular grammatical forms; Public School slang; social and class dialects; and they represent forms found in America and the Colonies as well as in the British Isles. Most of the definitions are clearly given.

Homonyme Substantive im Neuenglischen by Erika Branys¹⁷ is a careful investigation into the origin and development of homonyms in modern speech. After settling the definition of the term the author shows how the forces of folk-etymology, analogy, &c., lead to contamination in both spelling and pronunciation and considers, too, the provinces of poetry and slang in relation to her thesis. Word lists of homonyms, grouped according to arts, crafts, and science, &c., are given with etymology and date of first usage, the facts mostly being derived from *O.E.D.* The material collected might prove useful to other workers in the field.

London Medieval Studies has made an auspicious beginning with its series of monographs in the publication of B. G. Charles's *Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales*.¹⁸ The work follows the plan of the volumes of the English Place-Name Society and has had the benefit of the supervision of Dr. A. H. Smith of University College, London. Apart from its own merits, the book is important in filling in the somewhat serious gap in

¹⁶ *Supplement to the first edition of A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, by Eric Partridge. pp. 975-1051. Routledge. 5s.

¹⁷ *Homonyme Substantive im Neuenglischen*, by Erika Branys. Berlin: diss. pp. 123.

¹⁸ *Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales*, by B. G. Charles. Kendal: Wilson.

the work of the Place-Name Society, which for the present omits Wales from its survey. Charles, in his Introduction, gives a summary account of problems relating to Welsh, English, and Norman occupation of the Welsh Marches, but the subject is too complicated to be dismissed in a few pages and more historical detail would have been welcome both to layman and scholar. Again, in refusing to enter into the various aspects of Scandinavian relations with Wales, Charles should have met the reader's disappointment by referring immediately to his own monograph on the subject, too modestly concealed in the Bibliography under ON. Relations. The author, however, gives a succinct account of place-name problems he has had to face: the obscuration of English place-names due to Welsh influence; the substitution of Welsh for English sounds; the influence of feudalism on place-nomenclature; translated place-names, &c. There are also penetrating and original elucidations of the place-names themselves which are dealt with in the body of the volume. Charles perhaps deserves most praise for his pioneer work in the examination of unpublished material; the italicized abbreviations used for these in the text are a constant reminder of their number and importance.

Zur Kulturosoziologie des englischen ablautenden Verbums by Herbert Schöffler (*Anglia*, Jan.-April) deals with the verbs *shrive, take, give, thrive, catch*, but does not add to the information already available in *O.E.D.* and other easily accessible authorities. The title is too ambitious for the rather obvious material, and the conclusions drawn are not justified by such slight material.

Karl Thielke's *Slang und Umgangssprache in der englischen Prosa der Gegenwart (1919-1937)*¹⁹ is a thorough and painstaking study of slang based on many modern books, &c., and well indexed. Such a work is bound to be akin to the dictionary, and, as such, difficult to discuss in detail. It is well arranged on syntactical lines and also with regard to sense—so that in

¹⁹ *Slang und Umgangssprache in der englischen Prosa der Gegenwart (1919-1937)*, by Karl Thielke. Emsdetten: Lechte. pp. viii+234. RM. 6.75.

one section are gathered, for example, all the nouns that can mean 'nonsense or rubbish' and so on.

Sprachliche Neubildungen in der englischen Gegenwartsliteratur by Hans Marcus (*Neuphilologische Monatsschrift*, ix. 3) is a useful little collection of new word-formations, gathered from thirty-seven new or fairly modern Tauchnitz editions. The list includes unusual uses or adaptations, such as '*man-of-the-worldness*', and provides quite a good brief survey of modern tendencies.

In *The Assimilation of the Speech of British Immigrants in Colonial America* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.) Allen W. Read has gathered a number of advertisements for runaway servants from eighteenth-century newspapers, in each of which the speech of the runaway is referred to—as 'good', 'bad', 'broad' English, 'West of England', 'Yorkshire', or 'Wiltshire'—thus giving a good picture of the linguistic state of the country. These advertisements tend to show that even by the middle years of the eighteenth century the speaking of English dialects and 'broad' English was a noticeable deviation from the body of American speech.

Racial Proverbs by S. G. Champion,²⁰ a selected collection of the world's proverbs, arranged linguistically, has an excellent introduction on what constitutes a proverb and a study of the word for proverb and its significance in the world's languages.

²⁰ *Racial Proverbs*, by Selwyn Gurney Champion. Routledge. pp. 896. 35s.

III

OLD ENGLISH

By C. L. WRENN

THE work in Old English published in 1938, though not of great bulk, was generally more solid and substantial than that for the preceding year, and included matter of considerable importance in most parts of the field, with the usual exception of syntax. It will be convenient to notice it under the following roughly appropriate heads: (a) art and archaeology; (b) onomastics, or work dealing with names in all their bearings; (c) editions of texts and other complete studies of texts; (d) *Beowulf*-studies of all kinds; (e) miscellaneous notes on textual problems outside *Beowulf*; (f) studies in sources; (g) grammatical studies; (h) poetic diction; (i) varia, consisting of a very few short articles not easily to be classified.

R. H. Hodgkin's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, noticed in *Y.W.* xvi (pp. 68-9), made noteworthy use of recent archaeological discoveries as a background and supplement to early English history, and at the same time showed its importance to the student of literature: and it is with a view to presenting what is known of Anglo-Saxon art as a background to its history as expounded by Dr. Hodgkin, that T. D. Kendrick has published his admirable volume on *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*.¹ In covering the period treated in Hodgkin's first two volumes Kendrick has had the excellent idea of making his work in companionable *rapport* with Hodgkin's.

Before treating of Anglo-Saxon art proper, there are introductory chapters on early British art, Roman art, and that of 'Arthurian Britain'; so that in effect we are given a complete sketch of art in Britain down to the death of Alfred the Great. The work is most lucid and concisely to the point, and is just what was needed for the student who wishes to have a sound conspectus of the whole subject without being forced to consider

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, by T. D. Kendrick, with 104 plates and 25 text-illustrations. Methuen. pp. xxi + 227 + civ. 21s.

minutely individual theories. Naturally, in a small book on a large theme there must be many unargued statements on special points with which individual experts will disagree, and one may regret the absence of any reference to the linguistic features of the Runic monuments: but these are drawbacks which would seem to be inescapable in a book of this kind.

This matter of the importance of art and archaeology in the study of our early literature receives further illustration from a descriptive monograph on the rich collections of weapons, armour, ornaments, &c., which have made Vendel in the Swedish province of Uppland famous. Under the auspices of the Uppland Antiquarian Society, a group of distinguished scholars have for the first time made available in a brief and clear single volume copiously illustrated, matter hitherto scattered in archaeological journals;² and they have seen the importance of these Vendel artefacts especially to the student of *Beowulf*, generously adding a summary of the relevant matters in English (pp. 77-97) under the title of *Vendel in Uppland and the Beowulf Poem*. Ohthere, the Swedish king who figures in the latter part of *Beowulf*, as well as Wulfgar 'Wendla leod' of l. 348, receive due attention, and some ingenious speculations are offered very tentatively concerning the name Vendel-crow.

But the most important archaeological work of recent years for the student of Old English culture in general, and of *Beowulf* in particular, is the late E. V. Gordon's translation of Shetelig and Falk's book on Scandinavian archaeology, which was inadvertently not mentioned in *Y.W.* xviii.³ After dealing with Norse prehistorical matters, which do not directly concern the English student, it treats of (among other topics) Runes, the Viking age, Scandinavian weapons, armour and costume, &c., seafaring, and the Old Norse religion. Throughout, the subject is treated in relation to general Germanic culture,

² *Vendel i Fynd och Forskning: Skrift utgiven av Upplands Fornminnesförening, under medverkan av Holger Arbman, Mann Ericsson, Sune Lindqvist genom Oskar Lundberg*. Stockholm: Wahlström och Widstrand. pp. vi+98. Kr. 3.

³ *Scandinavian Archaeology*, by Haakon Shetelig and Hjalmar Falk: translated by E. V. Gordon. O.U.P. 1937. pp. xx+458, with 62 plates and 33 text-figures. 21s.

and the influences of England upon Scandinavia as well as the better-known influences of the Viking civilization upon England, are clearly shown. Many a point in *Beowulf* is made clearer, such as the tantalizing 'atertanum fah' of l. 1459 (p. 386), and the translator has added notes on points of special significance for English readers. Beginning with Chapter XIII, which treats of Runes, the latter half of the book is the best available means of putting *Beowulf* and Old English heroic poetry in its proper cultural perspective; and the authors have been able to impart unusual life to their subject. Moreover, unlike many archaeological works, this one takes full cognizance of all the linguistic facts. Its chapter on religion is quite the best approach to its subject that has yet been made. There is a good index.

Here must be noticed a useful work on Anglo-Saxon *Kulturgeschichte*, Gramm's careful and lucid treatment of Anglo-Saxon ideas on the care of the body and kindred matters:⁴ for this is mainly a study of Anglo-Saxon culture, though it has also some interest for the lexicographer and the etymologist. The first part is described as *kulturgeschichtlich*, and treats of the Anglo-Saxons' ideal of the body, the esteem in which they held it, their care of its various parts (eyes, hair, teeth, hands, and feet), bathing and washing, and physical exercises. The second part is linguistic, and consists of classified lists of all the Anglo-Saxon words used in relation to the matters handled in Part I, with their cognates and etymologies and notes on their usage. There is finally a short section on the Latin words used by writers in Anglo-Saxon England (such as Bede) when treating of the body and of domestic life. There is a bibliography and the usual word-indexes (both Old English and Latin). From such sources as *Beowulf*, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and the *Leechdoms*, Gramm is able to give a brief and fairly comprehensive picture of the bodily and domestic aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture; and though there is little that is new, it is of value to have this material thus conveniently brought together and analysed. Perhaps Gramm makes the evidence at times go rather farther

⁴ *Die Körperpflege der Angelsachsen: eine kulturgeschichtliche etymologische Untersuchung*, by Willi Gramm. *Anglistische Forschungen*, Heft 86. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. pp. 137. RM. 7.

than everyone will be able to follow, and the etymologies are not always as full as could be wished: but the work is generally thorough and accurate, and there are at times notes in which useful learning is gathered up with remarkable conciseness, as in the treatment of the fascinating word *cynewiððe* on p. 42.

As, some years ago, the importance and interest of place-names to historians, lexicographers, and many others began to be realized and to produce new kinds of research, so now the study of personal names of various types begins to develop rapidly and to lead to the mapping of new fields. Just as there is much matter of importance to the lexicographer concealed in place-names which retain by their natural conservatism words and forms long after their disappearance from the literary language, or anticipate those which this latter does not record till long afterwards, so, too, it is with personal names. They have, in many respects, the same kinds of value for the student as place-names; but their importance is only now beginning to be noticed. The kind of pioneering work done by Fransson in his work on Middle English surnames of occupation (noticed in *Y.W.* xvii. 38-9) has this year been increasingly productive, and has led to some systematic study of the origins and cultural significance of Anglo-Saxon personal names. The study of names is, of course, by no means a new thing: but its exact investigation by trained scholars with full consciousness of the implications and potentialities of the subject for workers in other fields is a quite recent development; and it seems that the subject will grow in importance and productiveness.

The fourth volume of *Nomina Germanica*, the Swedish series devoted to research in Germanic names,⁵ is an elaborate study of every kind of Old English 'byname', including nicknames, with a full discussion of the sources of our knowledge, the origin of these designations, and their gradual tendency to become hereditary or surnames. It covers the period from A.D. 700 to 1100 and is fully documented. As its author says, no work of disciplined scholarship on this theme has yet appeared; and

⁵ *Old English Bynames*, by Gösta Tengvik. *Nomina Germanica*, *Arkiv för germansk Namnforskning* utgivet av Jöran Sahlgren, 4. Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksells. pp. xxvi + 406. Kr. 12.

in many ways it breaks new ground. The vast materials of *Domesday Book* have been included; and besides the more obvious sources, such as the collections of charters of Birch and Kemble, hitherto almost unworked matter has been found in less known texts like Leofric's Missal, the Bodmin Manumissions, and the documents of the *Exeter Book* now available in Förster and Chambers's facsimile reproduction. After a full bibliography Gösta Tengvik has a valuable and suggestive introductory chapter, in which all previous work on the subject is surveyed and the sources examined: and this is followed by sections on the origin of bynames, their heredity and multiplicity, with a specially important treatment of 'ante-dated words'. In this last, fifty-eight occupational names and nicknames are listed which contain words not recorded in *O.E.D.* till later; and of these twenty-one are of Old English origin, the rest being French or Norse. Thus the word *churchman*, recorded first by *O.E.D.* for the date *circa* 1340, appears as a name (*cerceman*) in documents dated 1087-98; and *hayward*, listed in *O.E.D. circa* 1225, is found similarly as a name in documents of 1087-98 as *heiuward*. This section, and much else, makes the lexicographical value of Tengvik's work abundantly clear.

The remaining chapters of the book list every byname under the three main heads of 'local bynames', 'Christian names used as bynames', 'bynames derived from office and occupation', and 'nicknames'. The section on nicknames, in which the Norse influence is well marked, is of particular interest. Each main head is again subdivided into sub-heads, so that the scheme of classification is complete. There is an index of names, though one could wish that this had been set out with less patent regard to economy of space. Throughout the work there is full presentation of the etymology of the names. Everything seems to have been done with great thoroughness, though in so large a work some errors must be almost inevitable.

At the very end of the year 1937 there appeared the third volume of the series *Nomina Germanica* noted above; and this must be the excuse for its omission from *Y.W.* xviii. But the book is an important one, both for the student of Old English phonology and of our early proper names. Von Feilitzen, in his

study of the pre-Conquest personal names in *Domesday Book*,⁶ has given us for the first time a really exact and complete presentation of this material. It is especially fruitful in the light it throws on matters of later Old English phonology, and is more accurate in minute details than is at all common. Its scope and achievement are very properly described in its Introduction:

'The object of the present investigation is to record the names of all the persons mentioned in Domesday Book and the subsidiary surveys as holding land in the time of King Edward the Confessor, i.e. on Jan. 5, 1066, or earlier, and to contribute towards the elucidation of the etymological and phonological problems raised by those names. The Introduction contains information about the sources, surveys of the native and foreign elements in Domesday Book and a few brief observations on some general problems of late OE. nomenclature. Part I is devoted to an analysis of the principal phonological features presented by the material. In Part II the relevant material, which claims to be exhaustive within the limits stated, is brought together and examined from an etymological point of view.'

The lists of personal names in Sir Henry Ellis's *General Introduction to Domesday Book*, published in 1833, have served all later scholars, whose work is incomplete because, as von Feilitzen shows, Ellis had omitted some significant material. Moreover, by a careful study of the problem of the orthography of *Domesday Book* and a consideration of its method of composition and copying, he is able, starting from the view that it is primarily a French and Norman document, to make sense of its phonology better than has hitherto been possible. How many have been utterly bewildered by the apparent confusion of spelling in *Domesday Book* and thereby prevented from using its forms for any linguistic purpose! Von Feilitzen thinks, with some reason, that the original depositions on which *Domesday Book* was based were taken down by Norman scribes orally; but it remains a difficulty that our knowledge of the actual pronunciation of pre-Conquest England is by no means

⁶ *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, by Olof von Feilitzen. *Nomina Germanica*, Arkiv för germansk Namnforskning utgivet av Jöran Sahlgren, 3. Uppsala: Almqvist och Wiksells. pp. xxxi+430. Kr. 12.

exact. Especially does one feel the difficulty of this kind of phonological investigation in dealing with names of Scandinavian origin: for written Norse only begins in the twelfth century; and to apply the assumed pronunciation of normalized Old Norse to names of the eleventh century, as von Feilitzen seems often to do, is like a game of hazard. Every kind of collateral material, such as the names on coins and inscriptions, has been called into service, and the phonology of the names is often of considerable interest to the Old English grammarian. The influences of traditional spelling, of West-Saxon upon forms from other localities, and of foreign speech-habits are well taken into account, in a way which is all too uncommon among writers upon such subjects. The social implications of the names are touched upon, and the relations between English and Norsemen receive productive attention. The book is, in general, all that it claims to be, and must form an important landmark in the study of late Old English, both for the philologist and the historian.

Henry Bosley Woolf's article on *The Naming of Women in Old English Times* (*Mod. Phil.*, Nov.) seeks to show that the principles of alliteration and 'variation' were observed in the naming of noble women among the Anglo-Saxons, with the same care as (according to a widely received view) they were among men. He adduces evidence from *Beowulf* and from genealogies taken from the chief areas, together with a good deal of conjecture. He regards 'Freawaru', Hrothgar's daughter in *Beowulf*, as having been given this name only as a complimentary title, whereas her actual name was Hrut (so that it might alliterate with that of her father); and in the same way he overcomes the difficulty of l. 62 of *Beowulf* by arguing that the missing princess was the daughter-in-law, not the daughter of Healfdene (cf. Kemp Malone in the *Klaeber Festschrift* of 1929). In support of the deliberate use of alliteration for naming royal persons, he is able to cite from *Beowulf* Hildeburh daughter of Hoc and sister of Hnæf, Hygd daughter of Hæreth, &c. He thinks that women played a more important part in Anglo-Saxon life than has usually been realized, and pleads for further study of matters relating to them. But,

while it seems clear that the names of royal women, like those of their men, often show what looks like alliteration and 'variation' within sets of family names, it is also to be remembered that such appearances may well be fortuitous. For, when the number of elements out of which names could be formed was limited, their constant use in the formation of new names would inevitably produce the effects of alliteration and 'variation'. Similar speculations could be made concerning the principles underlying the naming of Gothic royal persons. It is the deliberateness of the application of the principles noticed by Woolf that remains in doubt.

He again applies the above kind of method in some detail in an examination of *The Personal Names in The Battle of Maldon* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.), with interesting, though not altogether decisive, results. He finds thirty-seven names in the poem, of which twenty-seven consist of two themes or elements; and he proceeds to expound the ways of naming he considers thus to be implied.

The year was made remarkable by one really important and scholarly edition of a text in A. Campbell's *Brunanburh*, and there were stimulating studies made in literary criticism and general interpretation of *The Seafarer*, *Widsith*, and *Deor*.

Campbell's edition of *Brunanburh*⁷ is important alike for the student of English literature, the philologist, and the historian: for it presents a full study of the text of the poem together with all the subsidiary documents, paying attention to its philological, historical, and literary significance, and including an elaborate examination of its metre. Campbell aims, as he tells us, primarily at the linguistic interpretation of the poem: and with this end in view he has given us a diplomatic text, a full statement of variant readings, a critical text with clear explanations of his method, and has included in his exegetical commentary notes on all forms of doubt or interest.

The introductory chapter deals lucidly and with solid learning with the text, the metre, the place of the poem in Old English literature, and its place in history (including a full dis-

⁷ *The Battle of Brunanburh*, ed. by Alistair Campbell. Heinemann. pp. xvi+168. 10s. 6d.

cussion of the site of the battle). In all these matters he has considered the poem in the light of the other poetical texts included in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; and it is one of the many merits of this edition that it provides in full the material for weighing the evidence, so that a reader who is not convinced by the editor's arguments has everything to his hand for attempting to do better himself. As we should expect, Campbell takes the Parker MS. as the basis of his text, using the other manuscripts judiciously, and contributing several convincing ideas of his own. An appendix seeks to recover the lost copy of *MS. Cotton Otho B XI*, and thereby affords most instructive information about the methods of copying a tenth-century poem employed by a scribe of the early eleventh. The appreciation of the poem as literature is less vivid than could be wished, and less complete; but this omission is largely made up for by a spirited and effective defence of the poem against its adverse critics, which, rather oddly, is placed among the appendices. The text presented is conservative and critical in the best sense; and the notes make everything clear as well as touching productively upon larger questions. Such conclusions as Campbell has reached are stated moderately, and he frankly declines to commit himself finally on the endless matter of the site of the battle. There is a bibliography at the beginning of the book and a glossary at its end. This latter is too brief, since it does not give etymologies (some of the more important are mentioned in the notes) and often fails to indicate more than the most general significations. There is, for example, a world of association in the poetic word *agetan* (normalized as Early West-Saxon *agietan*, like everything else in the glossary), which is not brought out at all in the one word 'destroy' given as its meaning in l. 18; and though there is a very valuable note on the word in the commentary, its exact semantic development still remains untouched. The wisdom of citing all words in their assumed Early West-Saxon forms in the glossary is also doubtful, in view of the fact that the poem is of the tenth century and that some forms (as Campbell well shows) were deliberately archaic, dialectical, or poetic when it was first written. Besides the appendices already mentioned, there are others containing subsidiary documents and one on the accents, capitals, and stops

of the manuscripts. The edition will remain indispensable for the student of Old English.

Anderson's new attempt at a final interpretation of *The Seafarer*,⁸ though actually published in 1937, was not available in time for notice in the last volume of *Y.W.* It consists of four parts: an examination of the chief earlier interpretations of the poem, an analysis of the poem, a translation, and notes. Anderson has little difficulty in showing that there are unsatisfactory elements in all interpretations hitherto offered, including the common theory that parts of it are interpolations. He then seeks to show that the whole poem as extant in the *Exeter Book* (apart from textual corruptions) is a unity with a plan carried through; and he well points out that the differences in tone between the first and second portions of the text may be sufficiently explained by the fact that the one is descriptive and the other moral, and that there is little inherently inferior in metrical or stylistic craftsmanship in the latter part. He protests effectively that much recent interpretation has been vitiated by the anachronistic effect of a merely modern outlook, and succeeds in getting rid of much critical lumber. Anderson's own interpretation takes the first part of the poem (ll. 1-64) as the image of man's life in the world shown by the allegory of a sea-voyage, and the remainder as presenting the voyage to the life after death in the hope of celestial happiness. Thus the whole poem is in effect an allegorical homily, in which man's temporal life is compared with his eternal hope; and hence the contrast between the concrete descriptions of the sea-voyage of life in this world with its miseries and privations, with the much more vague suggestions of a happy and longed-for voyage to a place among the hosts of heaven. Anderson does a service to the interpretation of this so much admired poem in his warnings against the danger of assumed interpolations and of viewing its matter with a modern outlook. But his detailed analysis of the text will not convince all, though he is probably right in insisting on the essential unity of *The Seafarer* as the work of one poet. This is the most important

⁸ *The Seafarer, an Interpretation*, by O. S. Anderson. *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1937-8, 1. C. W. K. Glerup. pp. 50.

contribution to the problem that has been made for a very long time.

F. Norman's article entitled *Deor and Modern Scandinavian Ballads* (*London Medieval Studies*, vol. i, part ii) is a direct reply to Kemp Malone's interpretation of *Deor* in general and to his handling of the problem of *mæðhilde* of l. 14 in particular. This is a continuation of a discussion of Malone's startling views initiated by Norman in *M.L.R.* xxxii (cf. Malone's article *Mæðhild* in *E.L.H.* iii) and answered by Malone in *The Tale of Geat and Mæðhild* in *English Studies*, xix. Norman brings further cogent arguments against Malone's more revolutionary views on the poem, and shows that the use of modern Scandinavian ballads for the explanation of *Mæðhild* is scarcely legitimate or helpful. He also defends the text as preserved in the *Exeter Book* against Malone, and makes some very effective remarks on general principles in textual interpretation.

Malone's *Widsith and the Critic* (*E.L.H.*, March) seems to have been provoked by the tendency of many scholars to object to his often speculative interpretation of *Widsith* in his noteworthy edition of this poem (see *Y.W.* xvii. 62-3). It seeks to lay down general principles for the editing of texts and to illustrate these by application to *Widsith*. His final summary statement is as follows:

'In studying a work of art, the critic must seek to answer three questions, and to answer them in some detail. The first: what is the author trying to do? The second: how does the author go about his task? The third: how well has the author done his work? These are hard questions, not often to be answered with finality. But the editor who shirks them on that account, and limits himself to certainties, stands revealed thereby as a literary mechanic, and turns his profession into a trade.'

These three questions, as well as his general critical standpoint, are suggested, of course, by B. Croce's *Philosophy of Æsthetic*. Malone says that, since all criticism is largely subjective once the critic is not dealing with ascertained fact, it is his duty to present his own view of the meaning and aesthetic value of a work of art, however far this may be from what others have

hitherto believed. But the objection to his edition of *Widsith* was, perhaps, not that its interpretation was new and individual and very inferential, but that it seemed to some scholars to have ignored some 'certainties' in the zest of presenting a very tempting hypothesis. Few will quarrel with Malone's general statements, yet some will still remain unconvinced of the soundness of his views on *Widsith*. But the application of his general principles of criticism to the text does bring out much that is of value and interest for the student of the poem.

The study of *Beowulf*, generally so prominent among researchers in Anglo-Saxon, produced little of importance; but there were a number of contributions towards the interpretation of individual aspects of the poem as well as textual studies of difficult passages—all in periodicals.

W. S. Mackie's study of *The Demon's Home in Beowulf* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.) is a reconsideration of the views of W. W. Lawrence published in *P.M.L.A.* for 1912, and more particularly of the supposed close parallels between Grendel's mere and the fight therein and the battle between Grettir and the female ogre in *Grettissaga*. He argues justly against the tendency of some critics to use the obvious similarities between the Old English poem and the Icelandic saga for purposes of argument in interpreting *Beowulf*, since the one is a poem and the other a saga. He holds that the purpose of the *Beowulf*-poet, unlike that of the sagaman (who must be supposed to have sought the effects of verisimilitude), was rather artistic than historical. 'The poet of *Beowulf*', he says, 'cares little about verisimilitude, and does not greatly trouble to be consistent; his purpose is not to make the supernatural appear natural, but to invest his narrative with an eerie atmosphere of strangeness and horror.' We should beware of the temptation to fill up gaps in the *Beowulf* story from the details supplied in *Grettissaga*; the element *fyrgen* in *fyrgenstream* in l. 1359 has no individual meaning as 'mountain', so that any connexion with the *Grettissaga* on this head should be suspect; and the *fyrleoht* of l. 1516 is not like the fire beside which the giant of the saga sits, but something quite supernatural. Mackie is clearly right to warn us against the dangers of argument from parallelism.

Stephen J. Herben's article *Beowulf, Hrothgar and Grendel* (*Archiv*, Jan.) is, as he himself properly describes it, a 'fabric of conjecture'. He thinks that Beowulf's adventures in the earlier part of the poem at Hrothgar's court rest on 'a foundation of hard fact', and proceeds to connect them with the famous worship of the goddess *Nerthus* mentioned by Tacitus. The 'confusion' of genders often noticed in the poet's descriptions of the monsters suggests this looking back to the goddess, and various matters in Hrothgar's surroundings are made to be explicable on the assumption of a cult of human sacrifice and a taboo on the use of weapons at certain times. Grendel represents 'a powerful, jealous and enraged priesthood resident in the immediate vicinity of Heorot', and the 'insular nature of the fane' indicates *Nerthus*-worship. Hrothgar was powerless to deal with his attackers because there was a taboo on the use of any sort of weapons during the festival of the goddess *Nerthus*; so that only Beowulf's ability to fight without weapons saved the situation. Enough has been said to indicate the type of speculation which Herben modestly offers.

H. B. Woolf's *The Name of Beowulf* (*Eng. Stud.*, Jan.) seeks to show that the actual name of the hero of the poem was *Ælfhere*, and *Beowulf* only a nickname given to him later because of his deeds and character. It is very speculative.

The most considerable study of textual difficulties in *Beowulf* is Carleton Brown's *Beowulf and the Blickling Homilies, and some textual Notes* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.)—an essay which also treats of the influence of *Beowulf* upon later Old English literature. He first shows that the famous passage in the *Blickling Homilies* ultimately based on the *Visio Pauli* must have been influenced by *Beowulf*, since it contains features imitated from the poem not found in any version of the *Visio* known to exist before the ninth century, thus returning to the view of R. Morris and the earlier critics, as against Hoops and others. Emphasizing the importance of *Beowulf* for later Old English literature, Carleton Brown goes on to stress the possible imitation of *Beowulf* ll. 2525–6 in *Maldon* 246–7, accepting the common emendation *furður* in l. 2525. In his textual notes he deals especially with the following disputed passages: ll. 303–4, 403b, 457, 987,

1147-53, 1174, 1247, 1399 (*gebæted* = 'saddled' rather than 'bridled' or 'bitted', comparing the use of *bætan* to translate the Vulgate *sternere*), and 2252a. Most of these passages are discussed in some detail and suggestively, and the view of *gebæted* of l. 1399 is at once convincing. Some minor matters, such as punctuation, are dealt with more briefly in other notes. Carleton Brown does not show the exact manuscript word-divisions in his citations; and it might have been better for him to have shown his working more directly from the manuscript itself throughout.

Else Schaubert's article *zur Gestaltung und Erklärung des Beowulftextes* (*Anglia*, May) is a decidedly valuable study, especially because it deals honestly with matters of syntax which are all too often neglected. Her essay is in three parts: (a) textual, dealing very fully and interestingly with the crux *mod þryðo wæg* of l. 1931b; (b) a stimulating discussion of absolute participial constructions in the poem; and (c) some remarks on *Wealhpeow*, dealing in particular with her speech to Hrothgar of ll. 1169-85 and including a textual note on l. 1174. Of these, the syntactical study is much the most important, and it is good to learn from her that she is writing a book on the absolute participial uses which will give opportunity for a full-length study. From this standpoint she treats of the cruces of ll. 28-31 (somewhat forcing the passage into the construction she is looking for), 932-9, and 2032-8. The whole is well argued and presented, if at times somewhat speculative.

George Sanderlin's *A Note on Beowulf 1142* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.), reinforces Kemp Malone's conjecture that the MS. *woroldrædenne* (actually two words) might be translated 'ruler', and brings forward the prose uses of *forwyrnan* to support his argument. This matter can scarcely be said to have been finally settled.

Robert J. Menner's scholarly and convincing solution of a fascinating crux in *Solomon and Saturn* must be placed at the head of the year's textual work outside *Beowulf*. It is entitled *Nimrod and the Wolf in the Old English Solomon and Saturn* (*J.E.G.P.*, July), and, besides other textual notes, deals comprehensively with the famous crux of ll. 203-24 in which Saturn

tells of Nimrod and his friend the wolf. Menner shows how Nimrod as the builder of the Tower of Babel on the plain of Shinar must have got from Hebrew tradition through Latin into Old English as a postdiluvian descendant of Cain (cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 104 et seqq.). He then suggests that Nimrod and the builders of Babel were traditionally turned into monsters, so that Shinar came to be regarded as some kind of waste land where the wolf kills dragons and is killed by them, since internecine warfare was one of the punishments of the builders of Babel. The Babylonian Bel, Menner thinks, transmitted to Latin sources through Greek writers, became the ultimate source of the wolf; and this wolf was then identified with the Germanic demon *Markulf* (cf. OE. *mearcwulf*). Hence, finally, the *sæliðende weallende wulf* of ll. 212-13. This is an essay alike erudite and attractively presented; and it seems to solve the problem it treats of.

F. Klaeber's note entitled *Bede's Story of Cædmon again* (*M.L.N.*, Apr.) emphasizes his rejection of the OE. *meaht* as a translation of the Latin *habes* in Bede's account of the poet Cædmon (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv. 24), on the ground that in the clause *mihi cantare habes* of Bede, *habes* could not have the meaning 'can', a sense only found in Cicero and Classical Latin. The sense of *habes* in Patristic Latin (and therefore in Bede) would, he points out, be rather 'must'. He would therefore regard the OE. *þu meaht singan* as exhibiting in *meaht* the common manuscript tendency of writing two words close together, and would read the words as *þu me aht singan*, in which *me* would correctly render the Latin *mihi* and *aht* the Latin *habes*. Whether *aht* had just this signification at so early a date needs, perhaps, further inquiry; but Klaeber's explanation would, if it could be accepted, get rid of a real difficulty.

J. R. Hulbert's article *On the Text of the Junius MS.* (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.) is a plea for a far more conservative treatment of Anglo-Saxon texts by editors and the presentation of something like diplomatic versions of the kind exemplified many years ago in Blackburn's edition of *Exodus* and *Daniel*. He examines Krapp's edition of the Junius MS. with special reference to the emendations which it makes, and shows that some of them

were unnecessary. The line of thought is generally sound, but will not seem new to many.

M. K. Minkoff's essay *zur Altersfrage der Lindisfarner Glosse* (*Archiv*, Jan.) is a well-argued statement against the view that the Lindisfarne scribe owed many of his errors to the fact that he was only making a copy from an earlier Old English gloss based on a Latin text other than that into which he wrote the extant Northumbrian. He demonstrates that, apart from isolated examples and marginalia, all the errors of the gloss can be explained from the scribe's own miscomprehensions of the Latin of the extant text, unlike the scribe of Rushworth 2, who can be shown to have derived many of his mistakes from the use of other glosses based on other Latin, for which his own Latin version provided no occasion. The assumption that the Lindisfarne scribe was using a copy of another and earlier gloss, on which the belief in so late a date for his writing rests, must imply that he committed mistakes in his own gloss by altering correct glosses into erroneous ones, merely in order to make his renderings conform with the Latin which he was actually using at the time of writing, which amounts to something like a *reductio ad absurdum*. Though further study of the glosses would seem to be needed along the lines suggested above, Minkoff's argument deserves careful consideration and may well point the way to a change in the general view taken by scholars hitherto of the Lindisfarne Gloss.

In the following notice of 'Sources' will also be included a few discoveries of new or improved versions of already known texts. Of these latter Alistair Campbell's diplomatic text of the famous will of Badanoth Beotting from MS. Cotton Augustus II, 42 (cf. Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, pp. 449 et seq.), is of considerable importance, both to the historian and the philologist. It is entitled *An Old English Will* (*J.E.G.P.*, Apr.), and includes, besides its most careful transcript of the manuscript, a translation, full exegetical notes, and a good deal of introductory matter on the background and the language. He shows how the Old English scribe must have performed, in writing charters of this kind, some of the functions now discharged by a solicitor,

and hence rendered into the vernacular many of the legal Latin formulae which became traditional elements in wills. The chief Kentish charter material of the ninth century is reviewed, the original parts being carefully distinguished from endorsements, later copies, additions, &c. The documents printed by Sweet are exactly reconsidered, and the title-deed belonging to Bada-noth's will is for the first time correctly reproduced from MS. Cotton Augustus II, 60. Especially valuable is Campbell's discussion of the Kentish diphthongs and their history. The translation is, at times, perhaps somewhat lacking in finish.

Charles W. Jones's article on *The Byrhtferth Glosses* (*Med. Æv.*, June) discusses fully and accurately the authenticity of the Latin commentary or glosses on Bede's *De Natura Rerum* and *De Temporum Ratione* often attributed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey. This attribution was first made in the edition of Bede's works of Hervagius Junior printed in 1563. Jones makes it clear by a bibliographical examination that this connecting of the learned monk Byrhtferth with the glosses rests only on a complicated series of errors. The glosses must definitely be excluded from the canon of Byrhtferth's writings.

Philip H. Goepp, in his article on *The Narrative Material of Apollonius of Tyre* (*E.L.H.*, Jan.), deals mainly with the principal motives of the Latin *Historia* and their relations with the general stock of European literature, and especially folk-lore. But he comes, in the course of considering all known versions of the romance, to a brief appreciation of the Old English version (pp. 170-2). He points out that, though only half of the Old English romance has been preserved, it is yet complete as a story in itself; and he expresses his preference for the simple yet generally acute Old English rendering to the literary and somewhat sophisticated elegance of the *Historia. Apollonius of Tyre*, which has such an interesting history in later English literature, was translated into Old English long before any vernacular version had appeared in any other country; and it is the only extant pre-Conquest romance in our literature.

Ferdinand Holthausen, in his article *Eine neue lateinische Fassung der Andreaslegende* (*Anglia*, May), gives part of a new

Latin version of the life of St. Andrew from the newly noticed Codex 1576 in the library of Bologna University. He tells us that he had at first hoped here to find the actual direct source of the Old English poem, but was disappointed. Actually, the Latin here printed does not differ very much from that of the published versions of the legend.

Hermann Flasdieck, in his *Das Kasseler Bruchstück der Cura Pastoralis* (*Anglia*, May), prints for the first time a really accurate text of a leaf of a Kassel MS. (Anhang 19 of the Kassel Landesbibliothek) containing part of King Alfred's translation of St. Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*. The manuscript, though it has hitherto received but little notice from scholars, had been printed in 1853 by Dietrich: but neither his text nor his commentary were quite accurate. Flasdieck shows that the Cotton MS. of King Alfred's translation of the *Cura Pastoralis* as preserved in Junius's copy was far less accurate than Sweet and Sievers had supposed. Though there is little that is important in the variants of this Kassel leaf from the text of the Hatton MS., yet there are more significant differences in language and orthography than Dietrich had allowed. Moreover, the Hatton version is the only other that contains the matter of this leaf. Flasdieck has elaborate footnotes to his text, and deals minutely with matters of orthography, palaeography, and language. Everything is very exact and thorough, as is usual with him.

C. E. Wright, in his *Two Ælfric Fragments* (*Med. Æv.*, Feb.), prints for the first time two leaves from an eleventh-century homiliary which are now extant in the late thirteenth-century register of Castle Acre Priory (MS. B.M. Harl. 2110), which appear originally to have been used as part of the binding of the later manuscript. They preserve fragments of the text of two of Ælfric's homilies, i.e. on SS. John and Stephen, both of which homilies were included by Thorpe in his collection. But interesting light is thrown on the history of the text of the homilies. Wright does not seem to have dealt effectively with the language always, and his suggestion that the form *feala* might be Kentish is scarcely to be accepted. This *feala*, so common in late Old English manuscripts, is, as its Middle English development shows, a characteristically Western form.

The study of Old English grammar has produced one notable volume on noun-inflexion, but very little else. But this volume makes notable contributions to our knowledge and presents much scattered material in conveniently arranged form.

Ivar Dahl's volume on substantival inflexion deals primarily with the case-endings of vocalic nouns in early Old English,⁹ reserving the consonant stems for a later study. He treats of the early case-endings against a background of the whole Old English inflexional material, and seeks to throw new light on problems of phonology and morphology hitherto unsolved. The book has three chapters: the first deals fully with all the documents which may be used as sources for the study, classifying them according to date, dialect, and locality and discussing each fully; the second presents the main material, with discussions of etymology; the third treats of the development of the endings during the whole Old English period. Though the work is a doctoral dissertation, it is done with scholarly accuracy and is both thoughtful and stimulating. Particularly valuable is the first chapter, in which monuments such as the Ruthwell Cross and Bewcastle column are discussed with knowledge and critical judgement. The chronology of the sound-changes $\alpha(s) > e(s)$ and $i > e$ is well reviewed, though all may not be able to accept the findings. On Mercian texts Dahl has things of interest to say, and seems to have mastered all the work hitherto done on them: but he should, perhaps, have dealt more thoroughly with the *Vespasian Psalter Gloss* (which he refers to as a 'glossary'), and in looking for 'distinctly Mercian features' in the *Codex Aureus* he has ignored the evidence of the personal names which clearly point to Surrey as its original home. The *Royal Glosses* seem to have escaped his attention. In this volume, for the first time, the whole of the early Old English material for the study of matters of case-ending is made available in one place; and for this alone Dahl deserves the gratitude of scholars. There is a good bibliography at the end of the volume, though the *Transactions of the Philological Society* are not mentioned.

⁹ *Substantival Inflexion in Early Old English, Vocalic Stems*, by Ivar Dahl. *Lund Studies in English*, vii. Lund: C. W. Gleerup. London: Williams and Norgate. pp. xvi+206. Kr. 10.

In his essay on *The Type OE. Lōca hwā, ME. Looke who* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.) C. M. Lotspeich attempts to explain the OE. *loca hwa* = 'whoever' by comparing the dialect expression 'choose who'. He believes that in the Old English phrase *loca* is a simple request, originally = 'decide' or 'determine'; and he similarly would explain other related usages. He then, somewhat rashly, derives the element *wel* in the OE. *welhwa* from the root seen in ON. *velja* = 'choose'!

Wolfgang Keller's essay *zur Chronologie der ae. Runen (Anglia, May)* deals in particular with the runes *æðel* and *yr* in relation to *i*-mutation, making considerable use of the Moore MS. version of *Cædmon's Hymn*, which, he holds, belongs to a time when *i*-mutation had just been completed. He accepts the common view (but without discussing others such as W. G. Collingwood's 'Typological theory') that the Ruthwell Cross and the Bewcastle column belong to the beginning of the eighth century; and he concludes that 'The seventh century was the time of the last flourishing of the English runes'.

The study of Old English poetic diction has produced an outstanding result this year in Marquardt's definitive volume on the *Kenning*,¹⁰ which is of importance alike for the literary and the linguistic student. In this section also will be noticed one or two short articles dealing with Old English poetry, though not specifically with its diction.

Marquardt first surveys critically the scope of his inquiry, the work of his predecessors, and the methods he proposes to follow. He then divides the book into two main parts—the one treating of the nature and types of the *Kenning*, with elaborate and methodical classifications, and the second reviewing all the Old English material in detail. He ends with a discussion of the stylistic value of the *Kenning* and a comparison of its use in Old English poetry with its functions in Old Norse. Throughout the work he aims at treating the *Kenning* in all its

¹⁰ *Die altenglischen Kennningar: ein Beitrag zur Stilkunde altgermanischer Dichtung*, by Hertha Marquardt. *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer. pp. xvi + 103–340. RM. 22.

bearings as a distinctively Germanic feature which illuminates some aspects of Germanic culture. Here is a full and exact survey of the *Kenning* from every point of view, and with a complete collection of all the Old English examples (including some account of examples from rhetorical and poetic prose); and clear distinction is made between those *kennings* which are part of the common stock of Old English formal poetic tradition and those which seem to bear some individual character. The OE. *Kenning* has already received from scholars considerable treatment, notably in Scholtz's Utrecht dissertation *The Kenning in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse* published in 1927; but there is here a completeness, in detail and in background, never before attained. The *Kenning* properly so-called is carefully defined, and it is clearly differentiated from other periphrastic stylistic devices such as variation. The ON. *Kenning* is constantly had in mind; and Marquardt concludes that, whereas the *Kenning* is integral to Skaldic poetry and its fundamental characteristic mark, in Old English it is but one stylistic element and is less of the essence of the poetic language. The aesthetic significance of the OE. *Kenning* is particularly discussed, along with such matters as the origin and content of Old English and Old Norse examples. It is suggested that there are cultural reasons for the great frequency of *Kennningar* of mythological origin in Old Norse and a corresponding paucity of them in Old English; while at the same time it is made clear that the Skaldic *Kennningar* are more sophisticated and farther from the original Germanic type than those of the Anglo-Saxon poets. The likely connexion of the *Kenning* in Germanic poetry with magic formulae is also plausibly touched upon. There is a list of sources (not always including the best editions of the texts) and an index. The book seems likely to remain the standard work on its subject for some time.

The probably strophic origin of some parts of the Old English Charms is pointed out in a brief article by F. C. Magoun in his *Strophische Überreste in den altenglischen Zaubersprüchen* (*Eng. Stud.*, Jan.), and he is obviously right in believing that there are some traces of strophe to be discerned in the extant remains. This is what one would expect in verses originally pertaining

to magic. But further investigation is needed before one can pronounce very definitely on this subject in detail.

J. Rosteutscher's essay entitled *Germanischer Schicksalsglaube und angelsächsische Elegiendichtung* (Eng. Stud., Nov.) begins from the standpoint of Sieper's *Die altenglische Elegie* (1915) and Bertha Phillpotts's *Wyrd and Providence in Anglo-Saxon Thought* (E.A. Essays and Studies for 1928), and examines the 'elegies' of Old English, including the so-called 'Rhyming Poem' (because of its subject-matter), the 'Wulf' riddle, and the 'elegiac' passages from *Beowulf* and other longer poems. He explains the 'heathen' and 'Christian' elements throughout with their appropriate historical background, and seeks to show that the 'elegiac' tone is to be accounted for by the qualities in a culture which had just passed from paganism to Christianity. He cites a well-known passage on free will from King Alfred's *Boethius* and the remarkable suggestion of consciousness of the problem of predestination in *Beowulf*, ll. 572-3. What is said is generally on lines that have often been followed before; but the argument is attractively presented.

Two articles remain to be noticed which touch on Old English studies but do not fit into any scheme of classification.

In her article *Anglo-Saxon Charters and the Historian* (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Oct.) F. E. Harmer makes a spirited appeal to historians of Anglo-Saxon times to take the trouble to learn the language of the period before venturing to use charters as evidence. Though a century has elapsed since Kemble made his great collection of Anglo-Saxon charters available to the historian, work continues to be done on the period they cover which shows ignorance of the very elements of the language. Her appeal is certainly amply justified; and historians and archaeologists alike would immeasurably benefit by taking advantage of the knowledge provided for them by the labours of philologists.

M. L. W. Laistner discusses the attribution to Bede of the *Penitential* published by Albers in 1901 in a note entitled *Was Bede the Author of a Penitential* (*Harvard Theological Review*), and concludes definitely against Bede's authorship.

IV

MIDDLE ENGLISH

I. CHAUCER

By DOROTHY EVERETT

THOUGH Chaucer studies are numerous this year, there are not many that are individually outstanding. A number of them serve the useful purpose of elucidating the poet's work by reference to the customs and thought of his times, but a rather large proportion is concerned with controversial matters which are, probably, incapable of final solution.

The most general in its scope is Ruth Crosby's article *Chaucer and the Custom of Oral Delivery* (*Speculum*, Oct.). This sets out first to prove that Chaucer's works, or many of them, were written to be read aloud, and then to show how this affected his poetry. Miss Crosby finds indications that Chaucer intended his poetry for oral delivery in, for example, the 'Retracciouns' ('alle that herkne this litel tretys or rede') and in *Troilus*, v. 1793-8, where Chaucer speaks both of those who may 'myswryte' and those who may 'mysmetre' his verse. She notes the poet's habit of addressing particular groups of listeners (e.g. 'ye women' *L.G.W.* 2559, 'ye loveres that ben here' *Troilus*, ii. 1751), and of writing as if he were in the presence of an audience (cf. 'er that I parte fro ye' *Troilus*, i. 5; 'or I fro you fare' *L.G.W.* G Prol. 85). Miss Crosby tacitly (and perhaps correctly) assumes that such phrases in medieval literature were always meant to be taken literally, but it may be noted that they can often be paralleled in later literature which which was not intended to be read aloud.

The second part of her article illustrates the appearance in Chaucer's writings of characteristics which she believes to be 'the accompaniments of oral delivery'. These include stock words and phrases of various kinds; clearly indicated transitions which would aid the hearer in following the narrative (cf. *Troilus*, ii. 932-3); asseverations, both simple ones such as 'i-wis', 'certain', and references to authorities such as 'as seyth myn auctour'; religious beginnings and endings. When Miss

Crosby concludes that, in all these points, Chaucer is following the example of Middle English romance writers many of whom wrote for oral delivery, she is on fairly safe ground, but it does not follow that these devices were confined to poetry written for oral delivery, nor does Chaucer's adoption of them prove that 'he wrote primarily for a listening public'. He might have adopted them, whatever their origin, simply because they appealed to him as aids to effective narrative poetry.

Before the studies which deal with individual works of Chaucer are recorded, a few miscellaneous notes may be mentioned. D'Arcy W. Thompson (*N. and Q.*, Nov. 15) proposes a solution of the word 'archaungel' in the English translation of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 915. The word appears to be used here as the name of a bird and Thompson suggests that it is a scribal mistake for something like 'acaunthyl', a bird-name (meaning goldfinch), which appears in several variant forms in Latin. In a letter to *T.L.S.* (Jan. 8) W. S. McLay suggests that the image in the expression 'You've said a mouthful' is the same as that in the *Parliament of Fowls*, l. 556, 'Whan everich had his large golee seyde', where 'golee', i.e. a mouthful or throatful, is figurative for 'gabble'. C. Philip (*A Further Note on Old Age in Chaucer's Day*, *M.L.N.*, Mar.) gives some further examples, from the *Stanzaic Life of Christ* and the York play *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, of 'violations of the accepted medieval tradition regarding old age' (cf. Coffman's note, *Y.W.* xviii. 68).

Chaucer's 'lost' works have a fascination for modern scholars; this year, in addition to further discussion of the *Wretched Engendrynge*, there is an article on the *Book of the Lion*. In Chaucer's 'Wretched Engendrynge' (*Mod. Phil.*, Feb.) Beatrice Daw Brown answers one by one Mrs. Dempster's objections (cf. *Y.W.* xviii. 72) to the identification of the work mentioned in the *Legend of Good Women* with *An Holy Medytacion*. To Mrs. Dempster's statement that 'The manuscript history [of *An Holy Medytacion*] does not establish the slightest presumption in favor of Chaucer [as author]', she replies that in Shirley's Trinity College MS. the piece stands 'second in a group of

seven poems, of which the first, fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh are ascribed to Chaucer and are known to be by him'. Moreover, the arrangement of the whole manuscript makes it evident that Shirley paid attention to the grouping of his material. Mrs. Brown refuses to admit that the contents of *An Holy Medytacion* are inconsistent with the title 'Wreched Engendrynge' and contends that no medieval writer would have understood this title in the 'narrowly restricted sense' in which Mrs. Dempster takes it.

In an article entitled *The Vocabulary of 'An Holy Medytacion'* (*P.Q.*, Oct.) Muriel Webster compares the vocabulary of this poem with that of certain other Middle English writers and finds that the results afford another argument for Chaucerian authorship. Miss Webster's method is to take passages of the same length as the disputed poem from the works of Chaucer, Gower, Occleve, and Lydgate and to group all the words in them and in *An Holy Medytacion* under the categories of 'Chaucerian' and 'non-Chaucerian' words. In the passages from undisputed works of Chaucer, 'Chaucerian words' are taken to mean those used by the poet elsewhere as well as in the selected passages; 'non-Chaucerian words' are those not used elsewhere. Miss Webster claims that this grouping shows that the vocabulary of *An Holy Medytacion* is 'more consistent with Chaucer's practice than with the practice of Lydgate, Gower or Occleve'. Her conclusion may be correct, but it should be noted that her grouping of words is sometimes odd. For example Gower's *noman* is said to be 'non-Chaucerian', though *no man* is frequent in Chaucer.

In Chaucer's '*Book of the Lion*' (*Med. Æv.*, June), F. M. Dear conjectures that the work mentioned in the 'Retracciouns' under this title was an occasional piece written for Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in whose service Chaucer was from 1357 to 1360, and possibly longer. Dear accepts the usual view that Chaucer's work had some connexion with Machault's *Dit dou Lyon* but thinks it unlikely that it was a mere translation of it. He assumes that it was a poem 'of the same sort as' the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Parliament of Fowls*.

Dear is able to produce convincing evidence to show that

'the Lion' would have been a recognizable title for Lionel, Duke of Clarence. He gives a brief résumé of Machault's poem and concludes that if Chaucer did follow the *Dit dou Lyon* in his *Book of the Lion*, and if he wrote it for Lionel, then the contents of the French poem suggest that it was written to celebrate the Duke's marriage to Violante Visconti.

Wolfgang Clemen's book *Der Junge Chaucer*,¹ which is concerned with the literary characteristics of Chaucer's early poetry, is outstanding amongst the publications of the year both for the range of its interests and for the critical insight it displays. Clemen has no new theories to propound about the external circumstances which gave rise to such poems as the *Parliament of Fowls* and the *House of Fame*; his interest is in the place of these poems in Chaucer's poetic development. He is not content, however, to regard them merely as stepping-stones towards the *Canterbury Tales*. In his opinion, their significance does not lie primarily in those flashes of humour and realism which anticipate the *Tales*, but in the poet's treatment, as a whole, of the traditional vision form. In this connexion he thinks it important to observe what Chaucer did not take over from his predecessors, what he avoided, since more can often be learnt from this than from his actual borrowings. In the *Book of the Duchess*, for instance, almost every line can be paralleled individually in some earlier love-vision, yet the poem as a whole is something new. In it the conventional May morning opening is followed, not by the appearance of the God of Love or some personified abstraction, but by a meeting and conversation between two human beings; the motif of the poem is a personal experience.

The greater part of Clemen's book is devoted to a detailed examination of the *Book of the Duchess*, the *House of Fame*, and the *Parliament of Fowls* as compared with the French poems which were their 'models' and with Chaucer's later poetry. Some of the shorter early poems such as the *Complaint to his Lady* and *Anelida* are also considered.

¹ *Der Junge Chaucer*, by Wolfgang Clemen. (Kölner Angl. Arb., vol. 33.) Bochum-Langendreer, pp. viii.+243. RM. 8.

The main conclusion at which Clemen arrives is that Chaucer's early poetry is distinguished from its models and sources chiefly by its more human quality. This appears in the lively and individual figures which he substitutes for the personifications of the French poets, in the natural conversation which he gives to his characters (as compared with the didactic discourses of the French), and in the manner in which he expresses such feelings as love and grief.

Another characteristic of Chaucer's dream poems is the loosening ('Auflockerung') in them of traditional poetic forms. The poet always breaks up 'was an solchen Grundstrukturen schematisch, schulgerecht, pedantisch war'; he is not interested in working out a single definite scheme but freely combines patterns of various kinds into a new and living unity. Hence he is able to employ widely different styles in the same poem (cf. *The Parliament of Fowls*, *The House of Fame*) and to interweave quotations and motifs from many writers.

Chaucer's manner of using allegory affords a good illustration of his treatment of medieval poetic forms. Among his predecessors allegorical poetry was popular because it combined instruction and entertainment. To Chaucer instruction was less important than entertainment and in his love visions the *significatio* tends to disappear, the allegorical motifs lose their proper function and are used chiefly for their decorative value.

Clemen remarks on the extent to which Chaucer's own personality colours all the longer early poems. He refers, for instance, to the manner in which the poet allows the eagle to treat him in the *House of Fame* and to the way in which he frequently interrupts the course of a story to express his opinion or his sympathy. The realistic and subjective quality of Chaucer's work should not, however, blind the student of it to the fact that almost everything in these early poems is determined by medieval poetic conventions of style. Most of what is in them must be judged, not as personal invention, but as the practice of an art the rules of which were widely familiar. Originality is not to be found in the themes and motifs that are introduced, but in the manner in which they are handled.

Clemen's book, though not remarkably original, shows a real understanding of medieval literature, and it succeeds, probably

for the first time, in expounding the literary significance of Chaucer's early work as a whole.

Haldeen Braddy, in *Froissart's Account of Chaucer's Embassy in 1377* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.), writes in support of his theory that the historical event commemorated in the *Parliament of Fowls* was the marriage planned in 1377 between Richard II and Marie, daughter of Charles V of France. This theory was attacked by J. M. Manly on the ground that Braddy relied for his historical data chiefly on the testimony of Froissart, who cannot be considered a reliable authority (cf. *Y.W.* xv. 89). Braddy now defends Froissart from the general charge of unreliability, and shows that he would have been able to acquire first-hand information about the marriage negotiations of 1377. Froissart's account agrees with what is said about the negotiations in the *Instructions* sent by Charles V to his envoys at Boulogne in May 1377.

In two brief notes Hugo Lange points out certain connexions between Chaucer's works and Mandeville's *Travels*. The later of the two, *Chaucer und Mandeville's Travels* (*Archiv*, Oct.), refers to passages in the *Somnour's* and *Franklin's Tales* and in the Dido legend in the *Legend of Good Women* which Lange thinks were influenced by the *Travels*. It also suggests that the *Travels* had considerable influence on the *Prologue* to the *Legend*. In the earlier note, *Die Paradiesvorstellung in Mandeville's Travels im Lichte mittelalterlicher Dichtung* (*Eng. Stud.*, April), Lange claims that Mandeville's description of the 'paradys terrestre' (cf. *Travels*, chap. 34) helps to elucidate certain details in the F *Prologue* to the *Legend*.

In her long article entitled *Chaucer's Sovereign Lady* (*M.L.R.*, April), Margaret Galway begins by proposing a solution of the allegory in the F *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women*. Assuming that the characters in this *Prologue* represent historical characters who can be identified by a careful study of Chaucer's descriptions, she suggests that a clue is provided by the reference to the God of Love's halo and by his remark, before he returns to Paradise, 'thus muche I wol the telle: Ne shal no trewe lover come in helle'. This implies that the god

represents some one who was dead and could speak with authority on what happens after death. Alceste, who is 'the dayesie' (F 518-19) and therefore Chaucer's '*lady sovereyne*' (F 94), and who is also the queen and 'relyke' (321) of the god, must, Miss Galway thinks, represent a widow and, moreover, the widow of someone who wore a crown or coronet (230-1). Taking into consideration the probable limits of the date of the Prologue, the only couple who satisfy the requirements are the Black Prince (d. 1376) and his widow Joan Plantagenet, known as the Fair Maid of Kent, who survived her husband till August 1385. Since 'external evidence assures us that the May scene in Prologue F could not have been begun until a few months before that date' (this is presumably a reference to Chaucer's use of Deschamps's *Lay de Franchise*, written for 1 May, 1385) we must, if we accept this identification, assign part of the Prologue to the middle of 1385 and we can 'tentatively' assign the rest 'to a period not far distant'.

An important part of the Prologue is Alceste's elaborate defence of the poet, and for this, too, Miss Galway has an historical explanation. In the middle of July 1385, when Richard II was proceeding with an army to Scotland, a quarrel broke out between two members of his army, John Holland, Joan's son, and Ralph, son of the Earl of Stafford. Ralph was killed by John Holland and Richard II decreed the confiscation of Holland's lands as a punishment for the crime. News of Holland's fate soon reached Joan, who was then at Wallingford Castle, and she sent messengers to implore Richard to have mercy on his half-brother. He would not revoke his decision and, according to the chroniclers, Joan's death on 7 August was due to her grief at the rejection of her appeal.

Miss Galway believes that Alceste's defence of the poet in the Prologue has a connexion with these events. The Prologue 'showed Richard's father and mother, lightly disguised as the god of love and Alceste, in the act of dealing leniently with a delinquent' and it might have been intended to persuade Richard to be merciful. A number of allusions in Alceste's speech (342 ff.) which are otherwise difficult to follow can be explained, Miss Galway thinks, on this assumption.

In the next sections of her article Miss Galway develops fur-

ther her theory of a close connexion between Joan and Chaucer. From this it is an easy step to the theory that Chaucer's various references in his early poems to his 'long and hopeless' love are to be explained by supposing that, following the fashion of *amour courtois*, Chaucer 'paid Joan the compliment of posing as one of her disappointed admirers', and that until her death he continued to write poems in her honour.

Throughout this article Miss Galway displays extraordinary ingenuity in the working out of the argument, especially in the use of minute details to provide apparent confirmatory evidence. But it should be noted that, if one is to accept its conclusions, one must accept not only a big initial assumption but a whole string of lesser ones too.

The much discussed question of the origin of the Legend of Cleopatra is reconsidered by Pauline Aiken in *Chaucer's 'Legend of Cleopatra' and the 'Speculum Historiale'* (*Speculum*, April). Though she makes no mention of Wimsatt's article of last year (cf. *Y.W.* xviii. 76), her opinion is substantially the same as his. She is, however, able to provide rather more evidence than he did for Chaucer's use of Vincent's *Speculum Historiale*. Miss Aiken thinks that Chaucer's statements that Cleopatra met her death, not in Antony's tomb (as in the Latin accounts), but in a grave near it, and that she entered her grave naked, might both be explained as misreadings of passages in Vincent.

In *Two Alterations of Virgil in Chaucer's 'Dido'* (*Speculum*, Oct.) E. Bagby Atwood examines certain modifications of the source of the Legend of Dido which Chaucer made in order to arouse sympathy for the heroine and to blacken 'the at best somewhat dingy character of Aeneas'. The first is the description of Dido's gifts to Aeneas (ll. 1114 ff.); the second is the statement that Aeneas stole away from Dido while she was sleeping (ll. 1326 ff.). Bagby does not think that Chaucer invented these details. Though Dido's gifts to Aeneas are not mentioned in the part of the *Aeneid* from which Chaucer took his story, there are later passages in the *Aeneid* which may have suggested Chaucer's description (cf. v. 570-2, vii. 274-9, xi. 72-5). The second modification has an exact parallel in the Rawlinson *Excidium Troie* ('he fro Dido stal in her sleping',

l. 1333). The way in which these supplementary details are selected and used provides striking instances of Chaucer's 'felicitous power of adaptation'.

Louis A. Haselmayer, Jr., in *The Portraits in 'Troilus and Criseyde'* (*P.Q.*, April), writes on the origin of the formal descriptions of Diomedes, Criseyde, and Troilus which are to be found in Book V. 799-840. They are, of course, examples of the type of rhetorical ornament known as the portrait or *effictio* and in most of the historical romances on the siege of Troy a long series of such portraits is introduced. Boccaccio omits the series except for a slight sketch of Diomedes, which is appropriate since he has not been previously described. Chaucer, however, reverts to the earlier historical romances and, in addition to the appropriate description of Diomedes, he introduces those of the other two characters. Thus he brings his version, in this respect, more into line with the traditional form, and this Haselmayer takes to have been his sole reason for including the portraits. He adds that, though 'Chaucer gains his one effect, he creates an artistic disturbance in having two superfluous portraits of personages who have been characterized previously'. Without questioning Haselmayer's view of the origin of these portraits, one may doubt whether their introduction is such a 'dramatic ineptitude' as he thinks.

In *Chaucer's 'Troilus and Criseyde' as Romance* (*P.M.L.A.*, Mar.) Karl Young attacks the critics who regard *Troilus* as a 'psychological novel' and look for likenesses between it and the work of modern novelists. He emphasizes, instead, its connexion with medieval romance; Chaucer, he maintains, '*meant to write a romance, and . . . succeeded in doing so*'. In order to prove this Young considers once again the familiar problem, 'what did Chaucer do to the *Filostrato*?'

He notes that Chaucer, unlike Boccaccio, deliberately dissociates himself from the story, thus making his work more impersonal and less closely connected with ordinary life. His aim is not to create the impression of actual contemporary life, but, by introducing 'archaic' or 'Trojan' detail, to transport the reader to 'a distant and romantic Troy'.

More significant still are Chaucer's transformation of Boc-

caccio's heroine ('real with all the reality that sensuality can achieve') into a 'hesitant, timid, youthful heroine of romantic idyll' and his treatment of courtly love throughout the poem. Though in some respects Boccaccio adheres closely to the principles of courtly love, Chaucer is on the whole much more faithful to them. This appears in certain aspects of Troilus's character and behaviour; for instance, Chaucer attributes to him greater valour in public and greater timidity in the presence of his lady than Boccaccio's Troilo shows. It appears, too, in Chaucer's elevation of his heroine to a social rank above that of Boccaccio's Griseida. Criseyde's more elevated social status enables Chaucer to show her naturally exercising that 'sovereignty' over her lover which every courtly lady should have.

In addition to the evidence provided by Chaucer's alterations of his source, Young points to a number of similarities between *Troilus and Criseyde* and the romances, particularly to certain 'brilliant and moving scenes', Chaucer's own additions to the story, in which the 'tone and color and manners' of romantic fiction are easily recognizable (*Troilus*, ii. 813 ff., is specially mentioned). Finally he deals with some elements in the poem which at first sight may seem to be out of place in a romance. Its interest in psychology can easily be shown to be a characteristic of medieval romance, especially, of course, as written by Chrétien. The character of Pandarus requires more careful consideration, but Young finds reasons for agreeing with C. S. Lewis that there is precedent for his 'humorous irreverence' in the romances themselves.

In a note in *M.L.R.*, July, on '*Troilus*', ii. 1298, again Thomas A. Kirby refers to a passage in the *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus which affords fresh support for his opinion that in this passage of *Troilus* Chaucer was following 'some literary precedent or social practice' (cf. *Y.W.* xv. 90-1).

The record of work on the *Canterbury Tales* will begin with the few publications which are concerned with all or with several of the tales; it will continue with those dealing with individual tales, following the order in Skeat's edition.

In *The Order of the Canterbury Tales* (*J.E.G.P.*, April) M. L. S. Lossing claims to have discovered evidence indicating that the

order of the Ellesmere MS. is Chaucer's order. The first step in the argument is suggested by Miss Hammond's remark that 'the first Tale in several of the Fragments shows relatively earlier handling [than other tales in the same fragments] or may be argued of early date'. This is obviously true of groups A and G, which are headed by the *Knight's* and the *Second Nun's Tales*. The author of this article believes it to be also true of groups B¹, C, and E for, on various grounds, he holds that the *Man of Law's Tale*, the *Physician's*, and the *Clerk's* were written early. His assumption is that these five tales (*Knight's*, *Man of Law's*, *Physician's*, *Clerk's*, *Second Nun's*) were 'not necessarily all written before the Prologue, but [were] certainly the earliest five tales in actual writing order'. Though these tales all head groups, they are not specially fitted to do so, and this suggests that their position is merely the result of Chaucer's working methods. Probably Chaucer originally planned five groups of tales, each to be headed by a tale already written. These groups he kept separate from one another so that later tales could be added to each group as he wished. When he had written a tale he would 'simply place it with the tale he meant it to be with, and so its position in the *C.T.* was fixed by its physical position in Chaucer's papers'.

Lossing next draws attention to the 'peculiar reversal of order between A and B types of MSS.', which twice occurs. Where B MSS. have the order D E F, the A MSS. have F D E; again, where B MSS. have the order C B² G, A MSS. have G C B². In the case of the second reversal the B MSS. obviously have the correct order since the reference to Rochester (in B²) should precede that to Bughton-under-Blee (in G). Lossing therefore assumes that the B order is throughout the order Chaucer intended. With the help of another suggestion of Miss Hammond's (cf. *Chaucer*, p. 262), he explains the A order of these six groups as due to the behaviour of some pirate scribe. He supposes that the piles of papers which represented the existing fragments of the *Canterbury Tales* were stolen a few at a time for copying, and that groups D E F reached the pirate scribe together. The scribe might then 'copy 1 (i.e. D), put it at the bottom of the pile of three groups, copy 2 (i.e. E), put it at the bottom of the pile, copy 3 (i.e. F), and leave it on

the top: and then return all three in this order, 3, 1, 2'. Groups C B² G he would treat in the same way. If in the meantime Chaucer had died, an authorized scribe, finding the piles in these reversed orders, would copy them as they were, thus producing the order of the A MSS.

This ingenious theory explains one difference in the order of these six groups in the A and B MSS. so neatly that, in spite of the long string of hypotheses on which it depends, one might be tempted to believe in it if it were not that it leaves out of consideration the *Merchant's Tale* (E²) and the *Franklin's* (F²), and that the attempt to account for their positions in A and B MSS. is hardly satisfactory.

The whole argument of the 'Marriage Group' is said by Sister Mariella (*The Parson's Tale and the Marriage Group*, *M.L.N.*, April) to be summarized in the passage in the *Parson's Tale* in which it is explained why God did not make woman from the head or from the foot of Adam, but from his rib. The words 'God made womman of the ryb of Adam, for womman sholde be felawe unto man' (cf. Robinson's *Chaucer*, p. 307) show the Parson agreeing with the Franklin against the Wife and the Clerk.

This passage is not in Peraldus's *Summa seu Tractatus de Viciis* which the *Parson's Tale* follows in many points. The idea expressed in it was not unfamiliar, however; it can be paralleled in religious literature both before and after Chaucer's time. Yet Chaucer's treatment of it in the *Parson's Tale* is fuller than the references quoted by Sister Mariella from other medieval writings, and she thinks it is just possible that he himself was responsible for the expansions.

In *The Portraits in Chaucer's Fabliaux* (*R.E.S.*, July) Louis A. Haselmayer writes on the origin of the portraits which Chaucer introduced into his churls' tales. He notes that the *fabliau* had its origin in the versified Latin tales of the twelfth century known as *comoedia*. Most of these Latin tales include formal portraits, 'highly stylized' in diction, which serve to convey the physical appearance of the characters. In the *fabliaux* themselves, portraits of any kind are rare and when they do

occur they are of the same conventional and artificial type as those found in the *comœdia*—a type quite out of keeping with the realistic nature of the *fabliau*. Chaucer, who probably took from French *fabliaux* the plots of his churls' tales, substituted for these formal portraits realistic descriptions of his characters (Alisoun, Symkyn and Perkin Revelour, for instance) which were far more appropriate to this type of story.

Information and conjecture about certain characters in the General Prologue are contained in the next three studies. Z. S. Fink in *Another Knight ther was* (*P.Q.*, Oct.) refers to two attempts that have been made to identify the Knight. Manly (cf. *New Light on Chaucer*) thought that the description of him might be a 'composite portrait' of two members of the Scrope family; A. S. Cook (*Trans. of the Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, xx, 1916) held that Chaucer had in mind two Earls of Derby, the one who later became Duke of Lancaster and his grandson who later became Henry IV. Fink comments that neither of these identifications is entirely satisfactory 'as an elucidation of the historical background' of Chaucer's knight, and he suggests that the autobiographical account of the campaigns of a German knight, Jörg von Ehingen, is valuable in this connexion. The career and character of this man show that the deeds attributed by Chaucer to the Knight were possible and natural and that there is little idealization in the description of him. Though the von Ehingen diary *proves* nothing, it has, nevertheless, a bearing on attempts to identify the Knight for, if we find two Earls of Derby with careers something like the Knight's, two Scropes with careers somewhat more like it, and a German knight, living half a century after Chaucer, with a career also like it, we may begin to suspect that Chaucer had no particular individual (or individuals) in mind.

In *The Haberdasher and his Companions* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) Thomas A. Kirby throws some light on Chaucer's description of these pilgrims by referring to the status of the incorporated livery company at the end of the fourteenth century. Quoting a passage from Professor Lipson's *Economic History of England* which speaks of the wealth, prestige, and dignity of the liverymen, Kirby suggests that the details given by Chaucer about

the gildsmen point to their belonging to such a company. The first statement about the Cook ('A Cook they hadde with hem for the nones') is also more explicable if Chaucer thought of the gildsmen as being members of an incorporated livery company and, therefore, persons of some importance.

A. N. Wiley in *The Miller's Head Again* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) supplements the examples given last year by Whiting (*Y.W.* xviii. 80) of men who could rival the Miller's feat (cf. *A* 550-1). Whiting's examples were all taken from the nineteenth century, but Miss Wiley has found one in the fourth century, in the *Calvitii Encomium* of Synesius.

Chaucer's treatment of the *Teseide* in the *Knight's Tale* *A* 1881 ff. is the subject of a brief but witty note by S. J. Herben, '*Knight's Tale*', *A. 1881 ff.* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.). In giving the dimensions of Theseus's stadium, Chaucer accepted from Boccaccio 'the mile circumference but balked at the idea of five hundred tiers of spectators'. He reduced the number to sixty, but even this, allowing a reasonable space for each spectator, would mean an audience more than four times the size of the population of contemporary London. Chaucer had a mind which was 'curious over details and . . . given to a sort of meticulous care when scientific subjects were involved', but he was, nevertheless, not sufficiently careful to test the result of his alteration in this passage. Hence he produced an absurdity differing only in degree from that which he rejected.

In '*The Reeve's Tale* in the Hands of a North Midland Scribe' (*Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, July) Martin M. Crow examines the treatment which the dialect speeches of the Northern clerks have received in the Paris MS. The scribe of this manuscript has, throughout the *Tales*, a marked tendency to introduce Northern forms, both phonological and inflectional. The list of these given by Crow includes such forms as *stane*, *whilk*, the pronouns *thaym*, *pem*, the present participle ending *-and* and the 2nd and 3rd pers. sg. pres. indic. endings *-s*, *-is* (*-ys*), all of which can be found anywhere in the *Canterbury Tales*. In his linguistic analysis of the clerks' speeches as they appear in the Paris MS., Crow shows that the scribe of the

manuscript sometimes preserves the original Northern forms, sometimes substitutes Midland forms for them, and sometimes writes the Northern forms which he uses elsewhere in the *Canterbury Tales*, even where the original version of the clerks' speeches probably had non-Northern forms. The result is that in this manuscript these speeches do not stand out in sharp distinction from the rest of the *Tale* as Chaucer intended them to do and as they do in the best manuscripts.

A parallel between the *Decameron* and the *Man of Law's Tale* is noted by Thomas H. McNeal in *Chaucer and 'The Decameron'* (*M.L.N.*, April). Boccaccio's Second Tale for the Fifth Day is the story of Gostanza who, like Constance, is set adrift in a ship. Boccaccio's story has a number of features in common with Chaucer's and one detail is found in these two versions only. Both Gostanza and Chaucer's Constance speak Latin when rescued from their ships whereas, in Chaucer's main source, the *Anglo-Norman Chronicle* of Trivet, the heroine speaks 'Saxon'. McNeal suggests that Chaucer incorporated into the *Man of Law's Tale* this detail from the *Decameron* or from one of its sources.

In the course of his note McNeal refers to various scholars who have expressed opinions on Chaucer's use of the *Decameron*. He does not appear to know of one of the most recent discussions of this matter, L. Morsbach's *Chaucers Canterbury Tales und das Decameron* (cf. *Y.W.* xv. 94-5).

Emma M. Dieckmann ('*Moore Feelynge Than had Boece*', *M.L.N.*, Mar.) argues that the fox's words to Chanticleere, 'ye han in musyk moore feelynge Than had Boece' (B 4483 ff.), are intended to be ironical. She describes Boethius's *De Musica* as a 'cold, mathematical treatment of music' and she thinks those who knew it, as Chaucer and his educated contemporaries certainly did, would have seen the incongruity in the reference to its author's 'feelynge'.

Though Miss Dieckmann's main contention may perhaps be accepted, some of the remarks she makes in the course of her argument seem to lack support (e.g. the statement that 'much

that Boethius had said came to be widely questioned' in the eleventh century).

The source of the knowledge of demonology which Chaucer displays in the *Friar's Tale* is traced by Pauline Aiken in *Vincent of Beauvais and the Green Yeoman's Lecture on Demonology* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.). In answer to the summoner's questions the 'gay yeman', who has admitted that he is a fiend, describes the forms and bodies of demons. He explains why they assume different shapes and how they, with God's permission, afflict and tempt mankind. All this information can be found in the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais, and one of the yeoman fiend's remarks, the statement that

'Sometyme be we servant unto man,
As to the erchebisshop Seint Dunstan,
And to the apostles servant eek was I' (D 1501-3),

is more likely to have been derived from Vincent than from anywhere else. Miss Aiken admits that many of her parallels between the *Friar's Tale* and the *Speculum* are too general and too commonplace 'to provide, individually, evidence of borrowings from the *Speculum*', but she maintains that, taken together, they are impressive.

In *The Original Teller of the 'Merchant's Tale'* (*Mod. Phil.*, Aug.) Germaine Dempster rejects A. C. Baugh's suggestion that the *Merchant's Tale* was originally written for the Friar (cf. *Y.W.*, xviii. 78-9). Baugh based his view on the passage in which the teller of the tale, in his own person, exalts marriage; he implied that when this passage (E 1267 ff.) was written it was without ironical intention. In answer to this Mrs. Dempster draws attention to its connexion with the preceding lines of the *Tale*. January, having been seized with a violent desire for marriage, glorifies it in a speech which contains absurd generalizations (E 1263-5). The narrator's comment, 'Thus seyde this olde knyght, that was so wys', cannot but be ironical, and when he himself continues the praise of marriage in terms very similar to those used by January it is impossible to suppose that it was meant seriously. If it were, we are faced with the task of explaining how Chaucer, who uses irony with great

skill elsewhere in this *Tale*, could yet have 'allowed a long digression to slip in, in which he not only dropped the mood of . . . sarcasm . . . but replaced it with its very opposite, one of satisfaction and general optimism'.

Baugh's other point was that the passage is homiletic in character. This Mrs. Dempster denies; the emphasis, she contends, is on the practical advantages of marriage, not on the Christian character of the marriage bond. She concludes that there is no need to suppose that the passage was written for an ecclesiastic and therefore no reason for considering the Friar as its narrator.

A note in *M.L.N.* (May), by Francis L. Utley, comments on the interpretation of the phrase 'mannyssh wood' in the *Merchant's Tale*, E 1536. Utley's suggestion is that it means 'lustful, mad for men'. Though the usual meaning of *mannish* in Chaucer supports Robinson's interpretation 'a fierce virago (lit. 'mannish mad')', the context suggests a different meaning, since it already contains at least two words implying this idea ('shrew', 'chidestere', 1534, 1535). In confirmation of his own interpretation, Utley refers to a number of similar expressions in other languages, and he quotes evidence to show that the German *männisch* could be used to mean 'mannesgierig'.

In *Cambyuskan's Flying Horse and Charles VI's 'Cerf Volant'* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) Haldeen Braddy conjectures that Chaucer, in describing the marvellous horse in the *Squire's Tale*, may have had in mind Charles VI's dream of the 'cerf volant'. Froissart's account of this dream does not merely provide a parallel to the flying horse, but also makes mention of a 'faulcon pelerin moult gent et moult biel' which reminds one of Chaucer's 'faucon peregryn'. The King's dream must have been familiar in court circles and since Froissart and Deschamps, both friends of Chaucer, refer to it, it is likely that the English poet knew of it. The second part of the *Squire's Tale* contains the same essential features as the dream, though Chaucer's treatment of these features is his own.

The expression 'free bole' which occurs in the *Parson's Tale*

(Robinson's ed., p. 306) is shown by George C. Homans to be a technical term in common use in medieval England and France (*Free Bull*, *R.E.S.*, Oct.). The providing of a 'free bull' to run with the common herd of the village was a privilege of the lord of the manor (*tauri liberi libertas*) and could be defended at law. Homans cites references to the 'franchise of free bull' from several thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents.

The origin of the name 'Chaucer' is discussed in two letters to *T.L.S.* (Aug. 27, Sept. 17). In the first, A. F. Pollard connects the name with 'Chaucire', and notes a reference to a certain 'Adam Chaucire of Essex' in the *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1374-7 (p. 523). In his reply H. W. Davies rejects this connexion in favour of one with Old French 'Chauciers'. He quotes, from Lacombe's *Dictionnaire du vieux langue françois*, 'Chauciers, faiseurs de chausses ou culottiers'.

Haldeen Braddy has written two articles on Sir Oton de Graunson. In the first of these, *Sir Oton de Graunson—'Flour of hem that make in Fraunce'* (*S. in Ph.*, Jan.), he considers why Chaucer, in the *Complaint of Venus*, should have given this man pre-eminence over his celebrated contemporaries. He shows that during Graunson's lifetime, and just after, his reputation was widespread. He is referred to by Christine de Pisan and Georges Chastellain, was known to Deschamps, and influenced such poets as Alain Chartier and Charles d'Orléans. The references of Christine de Pisan and Georges Chastellain suggest that to them Graunson was known rather as a great lover and a 'chevalier de hault pris' than as a poet, but there is evidence that his poetry, too, was well thought of in France. His reputation was not confined to that country; in Catalonia his verses were praised and imitated, and it seems likely that he was well known in Portugal, for he dedicates his *Complaintes* and *Virelays* to three Portuguese ladies. Chaucer's praise of Graunson is, therefore, justified by his contemporary reputation, and, even though Graunson's poetry is not of the first rank and fell later into obscurity, Braddy thinks it deserves more attention than it has received from modern critics.

In his second article, *Messire Oton de Graunson, Chaucer's Savoyard Friend* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.), Braddy recounts the life of Graunson, whom he terms 'a romantic soldier of fortune'. To students of Chaucer the most interesting points in his career are his various connexions with and sojourns in England, his service with John of Gaunt and his friendship with Sir Guichard d'Angle, Sir Lewis Clifford, and other men well known to Chaucer.

Newly discovered allusions to Chaucer and discussions of allusions already known are contained in the four following articles. Richard C. Boys in *Some Chaucer Allusions 1705-99* (*P.Q.*, July) has collected a number, chiefly from eighteenth-century periodicals. He adds in a footnote a useful bibliography of the collections of Chaucer allusions published since the appearance of Miss Spurgeon's *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion* (1925). Anna M. Oliver (*N. and Q.*, Feb. 5) records a number of *Chaucer Allusions in XVIII Century Minor Poetry*, the most interesting of which is one by William Lewis. William Ringler in *An Early Chaucer Allusion Restored* (*N. and Q.*, Feb. 11) maintains, against some earlier critics, that ll. 8051-4 in the *Gest Hystoriale of the Destruction of Troy* (c. 1400) refer to Chaucer's *Troilus* and constitute one of the earliest literary references in English to the poet. In *A Chaucerian Fisherman* (?) (*M.L.N.*, June) James G. McManaway suggests that several stanzas in the First Booke of *The Secrets of Angling* (1613) by J[ohn] D[ennys] contain conscious echoes of the first twelve lines of the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

V

MIDDLE ENGLISH

II. BEFORE AND AFTER CHAUCER

By GLADYS D. WILLCOCK

FEW large-scale and outstanding works in Middle English studies have appeared this year, and some of the debate-provoking topics of the past, such as the *Ancrene Riwe*, seem to be comparatively quiescent. The present survey cannot be quite as comprehensive as usual; in particular, in the conditions of crisis and war prevailing since this chapter was undertaken, it has proved impossible to notice all foreign researches. The order of consideration remains very much what it has been in recent years: first will be noted books and articles of general interest, with brief mention of writings not on Middle English but cognate with Middle English studies, then editions of, and work on, the verse literature, drama, and prose, and, finally, miscellaneous works and articles on linguistic, bibliographical, or non-literary topics.

Recent tendencies in Middle English studies are reviewed by W. R. Coffmann in *Some Recent Trends in English Literary Scholarship with special reference to Mediaeval Backgrounds* (*S. in Ph.*, July). First of all the writer finds in lectures and addresses by J. M. Manly, Greenlaw, and Leland representative expressions of the dominating questions asked by the present-day literary historian. He finds that emphasis has shifted from 'origins to continuity, tradition and heritage'. What we now look for are ideas and the conventions by which ideas and lives are shaped. Increasingly, too, the persistence of the medieval into and through the Renaissance is recognized. The bulk of the essay consists of brief reviews of recent books in which these questions and preoccupations are particularly prominent: A. O. Lovejoy's *The Great Chain of Being*, Willard Farnham's *Mediaeval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy*, Theodore Spencer's *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy*, H. R. Patch's *Tradition of Boethius*,

W. C. Curry's *Shakespeare's Philosophic Patterns*, and C. S. Lewis's *Allegory of Love*.

The Author and his Public in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries is the title of a fresh and stimulating essay by H. S. Bennett (*Essays and Studies*, xxiii). The writer ranges himself as a critic in the tradition of Jusserand. Recalling the itinerant minstrels as an active element in the wayfaring life of medieval England, he poses such questions as: How did the minstrels in the conditions of their time acquire and keep up to date their vast repertory? This leads to a discussion of all those conditions—paucity of books, lack of communications, absence of a reading public to supply ways and means—which require imagination as well as knowledge for their complete understanding. Three main types of author occupy the attention: the wandering minstrels; their antitheses, the monastic writers anchored in their cells or scriptoria; and, as intermediate types, the 'part-time' authors of whom Chaucer is the classical example. Interesting illustration is given of the extent to which even monkish authors, supported by their order, were dependent on patronage and of the good and bad effects on output of patrons' whims and tastes. As regards the public at large, Bennett notes the growth of literacy in the fifteenth century, before the introduction of printing, and from this is led to a judicious, but convinced, defence of that ill-used literary period.

English medieval mystics have been receiving much attention in recent years, though 1938 marks a pause in specialized studies. T. W. Coleman's *English Mystics of the Fourteenth Century*¹ is a book for the general reader. It uses the standard writings on mysticism and the mystics and is not concerned to synthesize or criticize the valuable work scattered in articles and monographs. It is, therefore, of little or no service to those desiring information on such thorny topics as the provenance of the *Ancrene Riwele*. It claims to be the first book on this subject written by a Free Churchman; there is no undue stress on this, but it accounts for a certain newness or difference of emphasis in the religious

¹ *English Mystics of the Fourteenth Century*, by T. W. Coleman, Epworth Press. pp. 176. 5s.

handling. Its merit is the sympathetic warmth by which the vitality and personality of the individual authors are copiously illustrated. It may stimulate readers entering upon medieval studies to closer acquaintance.

The most sumptuous work in the medieval field published in English in 1938 falls to be considered (in spite of its Arthurian connexions) under cognate and comparative studies. This is Mr. and Mrs. Loomis's *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*.² More than half the book consists of illustrations of Arthurian motives in tiles (the Chertsey tiles), paintings, carvings, leather-work, embroidery, &c. The literary importance of this scattered material in its bearings on the provenance and distribution of the Arthurian 'saga' is indubitable and is developed by R. S. Loomis in Part I. It is also clear that, before these bearings can be justly assessed, the problems offered by the art-materials themselves in dating, identification, and interpretation must be reduced to some approximation to certainty. All those who have followed up the controversy arising out of the Modena archivolt will be aware of the difficulty and significance of some of these problems. The present state of the controversy (as regards R. S. Loomis *v.* E. H. Gerould and others) can be gathered from an article by Loomis on *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Modena Archivolt* also published this year (*Speculum*, Apr.). The revolutionary element in Loomis's views is the dating of the archivolt soon after 1100, which presupposes a knowledge of Arthurian legends in northern Italy well in advance of Geoffrey's book. This most scholars have found difficult to accept. Few of the other monuments illustrated in the book, however, are as provocative; most are much later. The plates in this fine book are a welcome addition to the *corpus* of material available for the study of medieval secular art and its connexions with literature.

It is, as it were, an accident of our history that, since at least four language-types were in use in these islands during the

² *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, by Roger Sherman Loomis. Part II in collaboration with Laura Hibbard Loomis. M.L.A.A. and O.U.P. pp. vii+155+420 illustrations. 70s.

Middle Ages, a large body of work of crucial importance in its day for English vernacular literature is technically outside the radius of Middle English. Of our medieval Latin writers, Geoffrey of Monmouth, it seems, can be relied on to keep research and speculation busy. One entry to his account has been noted above and others will be found under Arthurian material later. The 'renaissance' of Anglo-Norman studies, also, continues. In this field, C. B. West's *Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature*³ makes an important contribution to medieval criticism. A large proportion of the material she surveys was destined, in one way or another, to assume Middle English vernacular form.

An article by Alexander Bell on Maistre Geffrei Gaimar (*Med. Æv.*, Oct.) works to a conclusion of special relevance to the interests of Middle English scholars concerned in the immediate post-Conquest phase. The first part of this article endeavours to penetrate the obscurity surrounding Gaimar's name, identity, and environment. It accepts as one 'reasonable certainty' the identification of Gaimar's patroness Constance as the wife of Ralf FitzGilbert, connected with Dowsby and Lavington in Lincolnshire and owner of estates in Hampshire. From the *Estoire des Engleis* evidence can be found pointing to the writer's acquaintance with Lincolnshire (where he seems to have come across the *Havelok* and other stories in Anglo-Scandinavian forms) and with Hampshire, especially the Wherwell district (where he picked up the story of Edgar and Aelföryð). After a brief section on the canon of Gaimar's writings, Bell settles down to a close analysis of the *Estoire*, particularly of its use of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as a source. A wavering between romance and history cannot be denied, yet the *Estoire* preserves some apparently authentic details not found elsewhere and Gaimar himself can claim, in Bell's opinion, some further right to the title of 'historian' on the strength of his verdicts on men like Alfred, Canute, and William the Conqueror. The *Estoire* is shown to be an important link between pre- and post-Conquest England and to symbolize the fusion of Saxon and Norman.

³ *Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature*, by C. B. West. Blackwell. pp. viii+175. 10s. 6d.

Before leaving this group of cognate studies brief mention may be made of a few works of comparative scope. The *John Rylands Library Bulletin* for April has an interesting essay by Hans Baron on *Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages*, which sheds fresh light on the history of ideas in Western Medieval Europe, particularly in such important 'sources' for Middle English as the *Somnium Scipionis*, the *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais, and the writings of Albertano of Brescia. Under the head of comparative criticism there are two works by E. R. Curtius, *Zur Literaraesthetik des Mittelalters*, i, ii, iii,⁴ (three packed surveys of Poetic and Rhetoric); and *Dichtung und Rhetorik im Mittelalter*⁵ which has not been available for further notice.

Among Middle English romances, *Gawain and the Green Knight* as usual continues to prove the most stimulating topic. In a monograph⁶ on the subject, Otto Löhmann summarizes, illustrates, and discusses the various analogues with Celtic legend and fairy-tale which have been adduced in tracing the ultimate origin of the *Gawain*-poet's materials, and pushes his survey further to include modern forms of comparable *Märchen* down to their use by W. B. Yeats. His main thesis is the independence of *Gawain* from French tradition. He postulates as its source a lost English romance drawing on 'insular-Celtic' (i.e. mainly Irish) materials. He thus joins issue with Kittredge, especially over the Beheading Game (section v). Löhmann holds that the indubitable resemblances to the French *Livre de Caradoc* do not point to derivation from the French, but to a common source. In the *Caradoc* the story has, under French social conditions, undergone a smoothing. This smoothing is conspicuously absent from the West Midland *Gawain*. As to this it may be said that, however successfully folk-lore experts have demonstrated the diffusion and persistence of Celtic legendary motives, linkages between Welsh or Irish and English or French at the literary stage—that is, sophisticated and com-

⁴ Sonderabdrücke aus *Zeitschrift für roman. Phil.* LVIII.

⁵ Halle a.d. Saale: Max Niemeyer. pp. 41.

⁶ *Die Sage von Gawain und dem Grünen Ritter*, by Otto Löhmann. Königsberg: Ost-Europa-Verlag. pp. 97. 3.80 RM.

plicated by all the multiple influences pressing upon a poet at any given time—are still too obscure for us to feel within sight of finality in such arguments. Löhmann appears on safer ground when he challenges Fräulein von Schaubert's interpretation of the seduction-scene as a chastity test linked with hagiological legend. It seems more in keeping with the various analogues and with the tone and emphasis of the poem (if these are relevant) to see it as a loyalty-test (*Treuprobe*).

Both Löhmann and A. H. Krappe in his article *Who was the Green Knight?* (*Speculum*, Apr.) show themselves soundly aware of the critical error of assuming the possibility of working back from a poetic 'complex' like *Gawain* to a set of folk-lore 'simplexes' and of then attaching to these the quality of poetic or literary realities. Löhmann, for example, exposes the fallacy of thinking that if we could push history far enough back we should find in circulation beheading-stories *purs et simples*. These 'simplexes' are not known to history. They are units analysed out by the folk-lorist for his own comparative and scientific purposes. Krappe in his article is first of all concerned to draw the line at which literary history stops. He finds his literary starting-point in *Gawain* as interpreted by Kittredge (with the important reservation in a footnote: 'that the M.E. poem *in toto* should be the rendering of a French romance seems doubtful after the careful research of Fräulein E. v. Schaubert. . . . What has been taken from a French model is the theme of the challenge'). From this point he proceeds as the folk-lorist to find the ultimate (or, at least remote) analogue of the Green Knight in a Celtic Hades-demon—hence the green colour and the holly-bough.

A contrasting order of *Gawain*-analysis is exemplified in H. L. Savage's *Sir Gawain and the Order of the Garter* (*E.L.H.*, June). This article is a preliminary notice of an impending book which is to probe the mystery of origin and authorship surrounding *Gawain*. It evidently attaches importance to the Garter-clue, suggested by Gollancz in 1891 and taken up once or twice since then. The proposed book is to link the occasion of the poem with Enguerrand de Coucy, who married in 1365 Isabella, daughter of Edward III, and left the English court in 1376. Judgement must naturally be withheld until the full

argument appears. In the meanwhile, it may be wondered whether 'such uncertainty as to origin . . . in an age when patronage held sway' is as strange (for the fourteenth century) as this article claims.

Work on other romances and tales published this year falls under two main heads: pursuit of links mythological and traditional, or of links textual and bibliographical.

C. Grant Loomis follows up the former line in a brief article on *Sir Cleges and Unseasonable Growth in Hagiology* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.). In the tale Sir Cleges is rehabilitated by a miraculous ripening of cherries at Christmas. This recalls to the writer a variety of Christmas fruitings in Celtic saintly legends. The article makes two points: that folk-lore motives in saints' lives are more numerous 'than a cursory examination of the popular collections would lead one to believe', and that many such motives preserved in romances and tales have 'contemporary and often earlier positions in hagiology'.

R. E. Bennett in *Arthur and Gorlagon, the Dutch Lancelot, and St. Kentigern* (*Speculum*, Jan.) calls attention to a hitherto unnoticed analogue to the Latin romance of *Arthur and Gorlagon* in Bk. III, ch. xxiv, of the Dutch *Lancelot*. He christens this episode *Gawain and the Dwarf*. One of its conspicuous features is the motive of the fish swallowing a ring which is closely paralleled in one of the miracles of St. Kentigern. Another link is thus made with Irish legend.

Some further notices of work on Geoffrey of Monmouth may be inserted here. J. J. Parry in *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Paternity of Arthur* (*Speculum*, July) comments on the curious ignoring of Arthur in early genealogies. Old King Cole may masquerade as an ancestor, but not Arthur. He accepts in explanation Collingwood's suggestion that Arthur, sprung from a Roman family, could not readily be absorbed (genealogically) into the Welsh ruling houses. Consideration of how Geoffrey manages the problem of Arthur's paternity is prefaced by a *caveat* against a common misunderstanding of his method: 'we pride ourselves upon discovering that what he wrote was not history, and we overlook the care he took to have it accepted as history.' Geoffrey's notion of lying like truth (not unlike

Defoe's) was always to secure some little core either of fact or of authentic tradition at the heart of his lie—a carving, a coin, a scrap of local folk-memory, &c. In this case, Parry urges, Geoffrey's core is to be found in some grains of Romano-British tradition about the family of Maximus.

A note entitled *Malory's Story of Arthur's Roman Campaign* by Ivor D. O. Arnold (*Med. Æv.*, Feb.) may be included here since its subject is not Malory but the relation between Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace. The note offers a destructive criticism of an article by Tania Vorontzoff (*Med. Æv.* vi, pp. 99 ff.) in which the writer was led, by a study of the variants in seven versions of this slice of Arthurian material, to postulate a lost French intermediary between Geoffrey and Wace. Arnold shows that the distribution of variants in this story can be bibliographically explained without the hypothesis of a lost French version drawing on Geoffrey but at the same time working in other motives.

Among textual studies of English vernacular romance material we have first G. V. Smithers's *Notes on Middle English Texts* (*Lond. Med. Studies*, vol. i, pt. 2). Three romances are dealt with: *Arthour and Merlin*, *Guy of Warwick* (fifteenth-century version), and the alliterative *Alexander*. There is one long note on the *Alexander* (where the word *couininge* from O.Fr. *covenir* is suggested to fill a lacuna and improve the interpretation of ll. 321 *et seq.*) and two on *Guy of Warwick*. The bulk of the notes elucidate passages in *Arthour and Merlin*. Smithers recalls Kölbing's valuable work on the group of South-Eastern romances to which *Arthour and Merlin* belongs, in particular his demonstration of the common authorship of at least three out of the group, *Arthour and Merlin*, *Kyng Alisaunder*, and *Richard Cœur de Lion*. Kölbing was, however, hampered by the inadequacy of Weber's texts. Knowledge of the language-characteristics of the group as a whole is the only satisfactory basis for an edition of any one. The notes on *Arthour and Merlin* are a 'preliminary essay' towards an edition of this romance and use the results of Smithers's work on *Kyng Alisaunder*, now nearing completion. This article, therefore, indicates a programme of work in progress.

It may be recalled that in a series of articles on the *English Tail-Rhyme Romances* (*Med. Æv.* I, II, III) A. H. Trowce claimed to have shown (amongst other things) that *Sir Launfal* is feebly imitative of an earlier *Lybeaus Desconus*. That the extant evidence allows the priority of each to be argued with equal plausibility is the outcome of Dorothy Everett's searching review of this claim (*Med. Æv.*, Feb.). Neither romance is of paramount intrinsic interest; the value of her article is the demonstration of sound critical method—a method which, being closely textual, cannot be summarized in a brief notice. It is shown how the tendency to discover links and borrowings needs to be checked by perpetual recognition of the fund of commonplaces by which authors of such poems helped themselves along. In the case of two texts like these, so similar in general type and not widely disparate in quality, priority (and therefore the direction of borrowing) can scarcely be proved without either external checks and controls (such as a recognized and extant source) or, internally, a sufficiency of features which in some way establish their own priority. Of these two romances, *Launfal* has a known and accessible source, which can be allowed for; *Lybeaus* has not (though *Le Bel Inconnu* indicates in general the nature of the source-poem). Vital links, therefore, are missing. The upshot of this review amounts to a warning to 'scientific' bibliographers that (paradoxically) the sure rock of criticism is the recognition of a void.

In *The Rymes . . . of Randolf, Erl of Chestre* (*E.L.H.*, Sept.), J. W. Ashton sets out to elucidate the reference in *Piers Plowman*, viii, ll. 9–12, 'Ich can rymes of robyn hode and of Randolf erl of chestre'. The argument accepts the generally agreed identification with Ranulf de Blundeville, Earl of Chester, co-protector with William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, of the young Henry III, and endeavours to find explanations in the life and associations of Ranulf for the legends which made the basis of medieval rhymes and of Elizabethan popular plays such as Munday's *John a Kent and John a Cumber*. Ashton is careful to guard himself against the fallacy of expecting to derive legendary exploits from actual biography.

Three periodical publications this year make small additions

to Middle English poetic material. In *Anglia* (lxii. 1/4) Karl Brunner prints *Bisher unbekannte Schlußstrophen des Court of Sapience*. Van der Gaaf in 1928 had called attention to a manuscript at Naworth Castle in Cumberland which was unused by Spindler for his edition of the poem. This manuscript provides the unique conclusion to the poem which is printed here. The manner in which the additional stanzas dovetail into their context and complete the theme of the poem, reinforced by the unity of style and prosodic handling, places their authenticity beyond doubt.

In *P.M.L.A.* (Mar.), J. R. Kreuzer prints *The Twelve Profits of Anger* from MS. Camb. Univ. Ff. 2.38. This is a metrical rendering of the Latin treatise on the Twelve Profits ascribed to Peter of Blois. A prose version of the same treatise was by Horstmann included among the works of Rolle, but ejected from the Canon by Hope Emily Allen.

Edith Bennett in *A New Version of a Scottish Poem* (*M.L.R.*, July) announces that an extra leaf of the Ruthven MS. of Douglas's *Eneydos* contains a version of a poem found in the Bannatyne MS. and printed in vol. iii, p. 305, of the Scottish Text Society. The Ruthven version adds a new stanza and has several variants. These are printed in the article.

To these may be added a fourth recovered fragment, *The Conflict of Wit and Will*, edited by Bruce Dickins and bound up with *Sawles Warde* (see below) as No. IV of the Leeds Texts and Monographs. *Dissecta membra* of an allegorical alliterative poem on the contest between Wit and Will have been used (possibly before the Dissolution) to mend the margins of a copy of the first printed York Missal which has now found its way to the Cambridge University Library. The pieces cannot be detached and nearly half the writing they contain cannot now be read. Bruce Dickins does not claim marked literary excellence for this find. The fragments show, however, that the poem had the lexical vigour of its class. The most interesting feature is a resemblance in a fighting-scene to the troll-fight in *Beowulf*.

The thesis put forward in 1935 by R. L. Greene that the Franciscans were responsible for the beginnings of the carol is supported by R. H. Robbins in *The Earliest Carols and the*

Franciscans (*M.L.N.*, Apr.) by some supplementary carol-material, all drawn from Franciscan MSS.

Next may be briefly collected some notes on cruxes and difficulties. E. E. Ericson (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) is content to accept *verteþ* in 'Bullock steretþ, bucke verteþ' as one of Sinclair Lewis's nine forbidden monosyllables and regrets that 'editorial prudishness' has kept the Cuckoo Song out of many a schoolbook because the old poet was familiar with barnyards. P. G. Thomas in *Lond. Med. Studies* (vol. i, part 2) puts forward some *Notes on the Pearl*, in the course of which he mentions and illustrates the interesting (but not as yet explained) resemblance between the diction of the Middle English alliterative poets of this school and that of Arthur Golding and 'English Seneca'. Mabel Day in a *Note on Patience* (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) finds light on an awkward passage in this poem (ll. 63-6) in a similar passage in the alliterative *Wars of Alexander*.

The Vision of Piers Plowman has doubtless (like *Gawain*, and more so) been granted to academic humanity by a beneficent Providence in order that scholars may journey happily rather than arrive. A prod is occasionally given to moribund controversies, but the main line of research and speculation at the moment leads to the theological background of the poem. Three studies published this year are in one way or another devoted to this subject.

There is first Greta Hort's book on *Piers Plowman and Contemporary Religious Thought*.⁷ After an outline of the poem (based on the B-text), the author considers the nature and extent of the knowledge of theology that can be claimed for Langland and decides that, though the issues of the poem are theological, Langland is not to be credited with the equipment of a theologian. His Biblical quotations point to the Breviary and Missal rather than to the Scriptures themselves and his non-Biblical citations to nothing more recondite than priests' manuals and pastoral writings. In so far as theological knowledge and scholastic discipline enter into his wrestlings with Predestination, the Atonement, &c., they reached him by per-

⁷ S.P.C.K. (for Church Hist. Soc.), pp. 170. 8s. 6d.

colation. This book is not an interpretation of the *poem* of *Piers Plowman* as we have it. Passages in the poem make the starting-points for a series of excursions into different fields of medieval thinking. It is designed for students and the serious general reader, and those who need guidance on how to read a strenuous Middle English religious work will find in chapter ii a useful section on medieval habits of quotation and use of authorities; elsewhere they can find explanations of *lex naturalis*, *sensus communis*, *synderesis*, &c., fortified by citations from Fathers and Schoolmen. The problems presented by the extant forms and the gaps in our knowledge are dismissed in a footnote. This does not affect exploration of the background, but even if the sleeping dogs of old controversies are allowed to slumber, the extant forms of the poem pose certain problems (of structure and design, of the degree of objectivity to be postulated, of changing purpose) about which some preliminary decision has to be made before the 'thought' circulating in the background can be fruitfully linked to the 'thinking', the process, embodied in the poem.

H. W. Wells is one of the workers in this field who have laboured to elucidate the structure and the 'thinking' in *Piers Plowman*. This year he follows up his earlier studies with an article on *The Philosophy of Piers Plowman* (*P.M.L.A.*, June), likewise based on the B-text. He continues the recent wrestlings with Do Wel, Do Bet, and Do Best. In this closely reasoned article he defines his position in relation to Coghill and Father Dunning and finds himself nearer the former than the latter. He considers, however, that Coghill's findings, unchecked, may become over-literal. One of the surest methods of counteracting any drift in this direction is to remember perpetually the potentially three- or fourfold implications (in the fullest sense of the word) of medieval poetic or figurative speech. 'Implication' or in-folding means that Do Wel, Do Bet, and Do Best can mean different things on different planes. Thus, Do Best can 'imply' the Holy Ghost, the episcopal role, and *Unitas*. Nor are the states (Do Wel, &c.) mutually exclusive. They are states, not estates, and can be involved one within the other. As a result of recent studies it appears that, while much is still cloudy, certain things are running clear, especially Do Bet and Do Best.

What remains less clear, in this essay and in the poem, is Do Wel, particularly the relevance of the Ploughman-figure to all that may be 'implied' in this 'state'. Wells is prepared to believe that there may have been some breakdown in the 'difficult intellectual conduct' of this part of the poem—hence perhaps the cessation of work on it.

G. W. Stone, in *An Interpretation of the A-text of Piers Plowman* (P.M.L.A., Sept.), has concerned himself with similar speculations about the theological world of the poem, as is shown in his footnote comparing his findings with Father Dunning's. But the theological pursuit is less in evidence in the essay. It is the writer's concern to bring out organic connexions in the sequences of the poem: 'it may have no plot, but it has a plan.' He has found, he believes, a clue to the evaluation of the dreamer's successive interviews with Clergy, Study, and so on, in an analogy with the Socratic method. A disguise of inquiring simplicity is assumed to lead interlocutors on to the exposure of their stock of knowledge and doctrine. The poem 'questions and questions and questions again', but, so far as we have it, no answer is given. This interpretation, without, of course, qualifying the supremely religious nature of the quest, underlines those elements of questing, of radicalism, which in criticism wax or wane with the predisposition of the critic. By its return to the A-text and the clarity of its analysis, this essay, after the preceding studies, has the effect of recalling the blood and bones, the urgency in design, of the poem. With a work like *Piers Plowman* there are risks in this concentration and clarification, but the article makes an interesting supplement to the other two interpretations.

Fifteenth-century verse has three items to its special account. E. Bagley Attwood in *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) points to *Some Minor Sources of Lydgate's 'Troy Book'*. Recent work and publications have left no doubt that the *Troy Book* is in the main a 'prolix reproduction' of Guido de Columnis's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*. The article is written to show that Ovid's *Metamorphoses* may rank as second source. It is in search of amplification in some form or another that (characteristically) Lydgate opens his Ovid. His general debt to Chaucer is, of

course, known and acknowledged. Attwood believes that what Lydgate pretends to know of the *Aeneid* he drew from Chaucer.

Two out of three E.E.T.S. publications to be noted in this chapter are editions of fifteenth-century verse. In *Tales from the Decameron*⁸ Herbert G. Wright has collected three versions of *Guiscardo and Ghismonda* (one by Gilbert Banester, one anonymous, and one by William Walter) and two versions of *Titus and Gisippus* (by the same Walter and by Edward Lewicke). Chronologically these take us from the latter fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century. This edition offers the reader all the critical apparatus he can reasonably demand. A section on the later treatment of these tales in English is thrown in for good measure. It is of special interest to note that the circulation of these tales in England cannot be taken as evidence of Italian contacts at this stage. The first two renderings of *Guiscardo and Ghismonda* go back on French intermediaries which have not come to light. This is tantalizing since it must remain a moot point how much the idealization of the characters and their behaviour owes to the English conscience or to French *courtoisie*. Walter uses the Latin translations (the principal disseminating agents) and Lewicke versifies Elyot's prose retelling of *Titus and Gisippus* in the *Gouverneur*. It is also noteworthy that in all five versions the stories have been worked up as verse-tales.

Mary S. Serjeantson must be among the most modest of editors. Her Introduction to Osbern Bokenham's *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*⁹ contents itself (she says) with only 'the briefest of sketches' of what is known or deducible about Bokenham, his sources and his literary value, and she distinguishes between what she regards as derivative and as original in her Introduction by saying 'I am responsible for the dull bits'. On behalf of Bokenham himself, however, she improves markedly on the somewhat desperate expedients of earlier editors who had him

⁸ *Early English Versions of the Tales of Guiscardo and Ghismonda and Titus and Gisippus from the Decameron*, ed. by Herbert G. Wright. O.U.P. for E.E.T.S. 1937. pp. cxv+256. 16s.

⁹ *Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, by Osbern Bokenham, ed. by Mary S. Serjeantson. O.U.P. for E.E.T.S. pp. lxxx+322. 18s.

born (though he is described in a note to the manuscript as 'a suffolke man' and though he himself identifies his language as 'Suthfolke speche') in either Surrey or Lincolnshire. By identifying his birthplace (and hence his name) with (Old) Buckenham in South Norfolk she gets him to within nine miles of the Suffolk county boundary. The editor regards as her special contribution to the edition the detailed analysis of Osbern's language which occupies the greater part of the Introduction. The linguistic importance of this text rests on the facts that the writer himself identifies his dialect and gives a precise date for his work on at least one of the legends (1443) and that the completion of the manuscript is assigned to the year 1447 by a contemporary note on the manuscript. It offers a norm of East Anglian speech between c. 1440 and 1447.

In *Plays of Clerkenwell* (M.L.R., Oct.), W. O. Hassall prints some notes from documents (Cott. Faustina B. ii, fol. 109, and P.R.O. Ancient Petition No. 4858) recording the Prioress of Clerkenwell's endeavours to secure redress for damages to property caused by turbulent crowds frequenting *miracles et lutes*. The King's writ granting redress is dated 8 April 1301; the interest of the Prioress's complaint is its testimony to dramatic activities in the London area in the very beginning of the fourteenth century. Most of the references collected by Sir E. K. Chambers for *The Medieval Stage* come from after 1400.

Anna J. Mill, in *The Hull Noah Play* (M.L.R., Oct.), publishes the results of her examination of the records of expenditure for the Plough-day performances of the Noah play at Hull. These accounts run from 1461 to 1531, with scattered entries down to 1551. Performances of Noah plays other than those extant can be traced in several towns; it is only at Hull that contemporary accounts survive. The city, however, was not an active dramatic centre. It seems to have been content to do this one play fairly well—if we can judge from the quality of the materials and work put into the ship. It was something more than a property; if not a sea-going, it was a church-going, craft and was hung up in the church between seasons.

Discussions continue between Mendal Frampton and John

Harrington Smith on the problems of the borrowings by the Towneley Plays from the York cycle and particularly on the date of the 'Wakefield Master'. Mendal Frampton (*P.M.L.A.*, Mar.), resuming earlier arguments, adduces further data in support of his view that the Wakefield Playwright flourished later than is generally supposed. Some of this evidence is external (e.g. a reference showing that in 1379 Wakefield was too poor and small a village to support a cycle), but the main weight is thrown on a bibliographical comparison of the York and Towneley Plays. Frampton's views are criticized by J. H. Smith (*P.M.L.A.*, June), who notes that the historical evidence needs corroboration before it will stand the weight placed upon it. Smith is prepared to accept Frampton's dating (1425-50) for the particular work of the Wakefield playwright, but denies that this commits one to a similarly late date for the cycle. He does not agree that the bibliographical evidence proves borrowing by Wakefield from York after 1415.

B. J. Whiting's *Proverbs in the Earlier English Drama*¹⁰ is rather a study of proverbs than of drama; nor is it limited to medieval work. It comes in appositely, however, after the preceding references. In it, Whiting follows up his earlier pursuit of proverbs in Chaucer and elsewhere by hunting them through the drama from the Chester Plays to the *Misfortunes of Arthur*, cycle by cycle or play by play. The method may at first appear repetitive and destructive of unity. Certain very interesting points, however, about the use of proverbs begin to emerge. In the first place (always provided that the usual chronological order of the cycles be accepted) it is shown that increasing reliance on proverb-lore accompanies the development of the miracle play. Thus, the Chester plays are poor and limited in proverb-stuff; there is more in number and variety in the Towneley plays. Moreover, in the mystery-cycles (and in the Moralities, Interludes, and later forms) the proverb develops with the comic and realistic elements; it is in the 'low' parts of the plays that the proverbs come thicker and faster. In the

¹⁰ *Proverbs in the Earlier English Drama with Illustrations from Contemporary French Plays*, by Bartlett Jere Whiting. Harvard and O.U. Presses. pp. xx+505. \$5.

Wakefield cycle, in addition to what may be called the chronological increase throughout, certain plays (the group to which the *Secunda Pastorum* belongs) are characterized by a striking development in copiousness and pungency of proverb-material—a qualitative as well as a quantitative difference. This quality is clearly traceable in scenes of a few plays outside the group. It is the badge of the 'Wakefield Master' in sustained composition and in piecemeal revisions. This proverb-evidence dovetails very neatly into other speculations.

The most important edition of a Middle English prose work this year comes from the Leeds School of English Language. This is R. M. Wilson's edition of *Sawles Warde*.¹¹ The homily is edited with complete critical apparatus of parallel texts, source, annotation, and glossary. The Introduction is most generous and valuable. *Sawles Warde* provides Wilson with an opportunity to continue his bridge-building between pre- and post-Conquest England. This publication offers a mine of information for the student of early Middle English.

Mary S. Serjeantson has added yet another item to her prolific studies of Middle English dialect problems in an article in *London Mediaeval Studies* (vol. i, pt. 2) on *The Dialect of the Corpus Manuscript of the Ancrene Riwele*. She reminds us that, in spite of all the work done, a complete survey of the linguistic problems offered by the *Ancrene Riwele* is still a desideratum. It is, of course, a Herculean labour which must wait upon accurate editions of all the known manuscripts. To the ultimate accomplishment of this task she contributes here an analysis (based upon a scrutiny of half the text) of the linguistic features of MS. CCC. Camb. 402. The upshot of this analysis is to confirm and further define Tolkien's view (*Essays and Studies*, xiv) that the dialect of this manuscript is that of Herefordshire. The dialectal forms point to a district not farther north than the Hereford–Worcester–Warwick area, to a central portion of this (not Warwick, therefore), and to a more southerly locality than

¹¹ *Sawles Warde*, ed. by R. M. Wilson. Leeds Sch. of Eng. Lang. Texts and Monographs, No. III. pp. xlv+115. 8s. 6d.

that of the Index to the Vernon MS. (S.Shrops.—N.Staffs.). All these conditions are satisfied by Herefordshire.

J. E. Carver, in *The Northern Homily Cycle, and Missionaries to the Saracens* (M.L.N., Apr.), discusses a passage in the homily for Septuagesima Sunday in this cycle, where the interpretation of the Parable of the Vineyard has been given (by the homilist) a forced interpretation equating the idle workmen with the Saracens. This is followed by a criticism of the Pope for not sending preachers. Carver finds here evidence as to the date of composition of the cycle. Boniface VIII's prohibition of missions to the Saracens and others was rescinded by Clement V in July 1306. This points to composition between 1295 (Boniface's coronation) and 1306. The Northern Homily Cycle is generally assigned to the early fourteenth century. This new evidence, strictly speaking, only dates conclusively the homily in which it occurs. So far as it goes, it tends to move the date backwards, to the last years of the thirteenth, or the earliest years of the fourteenth, century.

C. F. Bühler is an indefatigable discoverer or reprinter of texts and fragments. There are three pieces of his to be noted in this chapter. In *Med. Æv.* (Oct.) he has printed, from a Trinity MS., *A Lollard Tract: on translating the Bible into English*. This tract was a favourite with the Reformers, and transcripts were owned by Parker, Foxe, and Henry Wharton. The *editio princeps* (Hans Luft, 1530) was based on late versions. Seven manuscripts survive, of which two (Morgan and Trinity) are complete and of these Trinity can be shown to be nearer the original. Internal evidence dates the tract after the death of Richard II and during the lifetime of Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury—hence between 1400 and 1414. It most probably appeared before the promulgation of the Constitutions of Oxford 1408 and may be assigned to c. 1407. It is of special interest that the biblical quotations are independent of the Wycliffite versions and that the writer refers to a bible 'of Norþen speche' two hundred years old. This recalls recent controversies about the older English Bible known to Sir Thomas More.

In *R.E.S.* (April) Bühler introduces *Some New Paston Documents*. These formed part of a collection of historical documents made by John Thane (1748–1818) and are now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. None of them is from the pen of a Paston, but several of them are addressed to Sir John Paston; others mention people, places, and events occurring in the *Paston Letters*.

A transition to bibliographical topics may be made through Bühler's third article: *Libri Impressi cum Notis Manuscriptis* (*M.L.N.*, Apr). Here, after noting that 'MS. entries in early printed books have not yet received full study', Bühler prints some specimens of this type of material. Two are found on the last printed page of a copy of the English translation of *De Consolatione Philosophiae* printed by Caxton c. 1478. The first is a gnomic stanza beginning 'Love þat is powre, it is with pyne'; the second is a literary anecdote about Lydgate derived 'out of a sermon prechid at Powls Crosse'.

The chief event in Middle English bibliographical studies this year is the appearance of a seventh supplement of J. E. Wells's *Manual*.¹² This carries the record of additions and modifications down to July 1938. The method and scheme of the original *Manual* and its successors are preserved. The value of this strenuous publication to all readers of this chapter needs no labouring here.

A very interesting essay in Middle English bibliography is published by Edward Schröder in *Anglia*, lxii. 1/4, under the modest title of *Einiges vom Buchtitel in der englischen Literatur des Mittelalters*. This is a complementary study (in brief exploratory form based on E.E.T.S. material) to the author's *Von den Anfängen des deutschen Buchtitels*. It traces the beginnings and subsequent extension of the habit of naming works (more rarely, authors), the progression from Latin to English or French titles, the slow regression of anonymity, evidence as to recognition and application of categories and 'kinds' (tale, rym, spell, lai, legende, &c.), and so on. A more unified and comparative view is facilitated by the linking of

¹² *Seventh Supplement to a Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050–1400*, by John Edwin Wells. Yale and O.U. Presses.

English and French titles to their earlier Latin analogues of European distribution (*Manuel des Pechiez*, *Handlyng Synne*, *Manuale Peccatorum*). Interesting distinctions in status and tradition are suggested by the differing habits of romances and didactic works. The rise of allegorical and alliterative titles, the introduction of the characteristically English title 'Parlement', remarkable permutations in titles of one work (e.g. Grosseteste's *Chateau de Labour*), the lack of authority for some well-established titles, contrasts between English vernacular habits and French or Middle High German—all these illustrate and clarify conditions prevailing in the medieval English book-world.

H.L.Q. (Apr.) publishes an article by H. C. Schulz, *The Monastic Library and Scriptorium of Ashridge, Bucks*, in which are tried out some methods of reconstructing the contents of a medieval library in the absence of contemporary catalogues or early printed information. In this particular case the task involves collecting whatever indications can be found in manuscripts at present scattered (such as a founder's or a patron's name or inscriptions bringing in the name Ashridge) and establishing certain characteristic features of books emanating from the Ashridge Scriptorium.

Of work on purely linguistic topics there is not much to record. A sound and practical Middle English Grammar has been a long-felt need, the more so since the fine studies of Morsbach and Jordan were left unfinished. Karl Brunner has published an *Abriß*¹³ designed to supply this want on behalf of German students. The method of the book is on the whole admirable in the extent to which it reduces to manageable compass and reasonable clarity the intractable variety of Middle English forms, maintains continuity with Old English, and organizes sufficiently for a student's purposes the welter of foreign forms. Some weakness of detail is inseparable from such a scheme. A certain amount of correction of errors in spelling (or misprints) will be necessary to make the Grammar student-proof.

¹³ *Abriß der Mittellenglischen Grammatik*, by Karl Brunner. Halle a.d. Saale : Niemeyer. pp. 90.

C. T. Onions, in a brief note on *The Phrase 'End of One's Kin'* (*Med. Æv.*, June), adds some supporting commentary to A. H. Trounce's collection of evidence (*Athelston*, p. 106) favouring the interpretation of 'ende' as 'part', 'portion', so that the whole expression is to be translated 'part or member of my kindred'.

One of the E.E.T.S. publications for this year is scarcely concerned with either literature or language. This is the *Liber de Diversis Medicinis*¹⁴ edited by M. S. Ogden. The transmission of the medical material from the ancients, the Arabs, &c., is of general interest. The prescriptions themselves belong to the history of medicine, but they have their ray of light to shed on the medieval background—at least, many of them show why our ancestors died, if not how they lived. The chief importance of this edition for Middle English studies lies in the Thornton MS. itself (Lincoln Cath. A.5.2.) and the evidence collected here bearing on its formation and transmission. In the Thornton MS. the *materia medica* is preceded by romances, sermons, religious lyrics, and mystical writings. It appears to be a family miscellany, secular in provenance and partly so in content. The prescriptions probably contain family and neighbourly recipes. Some have been contributed by the rector of Oswaldkirk. The 'scribe', Robert Thornton, is identified with a member of a Thornton family of substance settled at East Newton in the North Riding of Yorks. Both the Thornton MS. and the one other in the same hand (B.M. Add. MS. 31042) suggest the interests and performance of the gentleman amateur. We have here an example of a secularization and de-professionalizing of manuscript copying in the fifteenth century which acquires, perhaps, some additional significance in connexion with H. S. Bennett's essay mentioned above.

Last of all, as a *bonne bouche* and, as it happens, at the moment of writing an envoy, must be recorded Mary S. Serjeantson's light-hearted excursion on *The Vocabulary of Cookery in the Fifteenth Century* (*Essays and Studies*, xxiii). A principal source of her engaging material is MS. Harley 279 (c. 1430). Mrs.

¹⁴ *The Liber de Diversis Medicinis*, ed. by Margaret Sinclair Ogden. O.U.P. for E.E.T.S. pp. xxix+160. 10s.

Beeton is completely outclassed; 'Take a thousande egges' makes her Victorian amplitude look small. The overwhelming proportion of technical terms (names of dishes, methods of cooking, many utensils) is, of course, French. Several unusual and interesting etymologies are opened up by these terms. A striking feature of almost all the recipes quoted is the passion for saffron—saffron with warden pears, with pork, in 'Apple Muse', to colour 'small cofyns' for baked eggs, with 'Vele, Kede or henne', with marrow-bones stewed with borage and other herbes to serve with boiled bacon—a kind of Paracelsian preventative, perhaps, for the natural effects of a fifteenth-century 'hoge potte' on the liver.

VI

THE RENAISSANCE

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

THE 1938 publications calling for notice in this chapter are almost entirely concerned with individual authors. The chief exception is V. de Sola Pinto's *The English Renaissance*,¹ and even this, as it ranges over the period 1510–1688, includes in its sweep the later Elizabethan and the Stuart epoch. The work is volume II of the 'Introductions to English Literature' edited by Bonamy Dobrée. According to the general plan of these 'Introductions' the book is divided into two parts. The first is a sketch of the history, especially the social history, and the literature of the period in their intimate relations. The second, with the title 'Students' Guide to Reading', is a detailed critical bibliography dealing both with collections and individual authors.

Pinto's chapters in the first part, of which approximately the earlier half relates to the period with which we are here concerned, are attractively written and stimulating. In speaking of Elizabeth herself he stresses a point that is often overlooked. 'She had the gift of noble English speech. . . . A queen who could speak like this was worthy to rule the England of Shakespeare, Spenser, Hooker and Bacon.' The importance of the chroniclers and the translators, as compared with the imaginative writers, in the first twenty years of the queen's reign is well brought out. Bruce Pattison's chapter on the intimate relation during the whole period between popular music and poetry is a valuable supplement.

The guide to reading is so comprehensive that 'introduction' becomes almost a misnomer. Those students will find it most helpful who come to it with some initial bibliographical knowledge.

¹ *The English Renaissance, 1510–1688*, by V. de Sola Pinto. With a chapter on Literature and Music by Bruce Pattison. Cresset Press. pp. 381. 6s.

Of the subjects dealt with in J. W. Mackail's *Studies in Humanism* (Longmans, pp. 272) mention may be made of one relating to the earlier Tudor period, 'Erasmus on War'.

The prolonged flow of works on Sir Thomas More has for the present been stayed, though George B. Parks discusses *More's Utopia and Geography* (*J.E.G.P.*, April). In an interesting article, illustrated by reprints of early maps, he traces Hythlodaye's probable route from Brazil to Utopia and concludes that the latter would to-day roughly correspond with Tasmania. Parks dissents from Jevons's view (see *Y.W.* xvi. 165) that Utopia owed anything to Persia. He sets forth and explains the view that 'More developed from established geographical doctrine a new theory which we may call the theory of climatic symmetry'.

S. L. Greenslade provides nearly 150 pages of well-chosen selections from the writings of Tyndale,² with helpful annotations. The selections are preceded by a sketch of the reformer's life and a discussion of his moral and religious teaching. But what more closely concerns readers of *The Year's Work* is G. D. Bone's crisply written essay on Tyndale's language. He deals both with his vocabulary and his construction, comparing his English with that of More and of the Authorized Version. His conclusion is that Tyndale was 'richly gifted . . . in his appreciation of spoken idioms. There is no vestige of literariness in his writings. . . . Next to a papist he hated a poet.'

The outstanding 1938 monument to Tyndale is the sumptuous reprint of the 1534 edition of his translation of the New Testament edited for R.S.L. by Hardy Wallis.³ This is the first complete reprint of the work, for, as Wallis points out in his preface, it includes as well as the text Tyndale's 'prologues' and notes. It also reproduces for the first time the Old Testament

² *The Work of William Tindale*, by S. L. Greenslade, with an *Essay on Tindale and the English Language*, by G. D. Bone. Blackie. pp. vi+222. 8s. 6d.

³ *The New Testament: Translated by William Tyndale. 1534. . . .* Edited for the Royal Society of Literature by Hardy Wallis, with an Introduction by the Rt. Hon. Isaac Foot. C.U.P. pp. xviii+628. 21s.

Epistles read as lessons on certain days 'after the use of Salisbury' with a 'table' of the lessons. In the footnotes to the reprint the variants in the earlier 1525 edition are given, and a list of the more important of these is appended. A limited five-guinea edition includes also the twenty-two woodcuts illustrating the Book of Revelation. Mr. Isaac Foot, who suggested the enterprise, pays in his introduction a tribute to the R.S.L. editor's labours, and pronounces that 'the persistence of Tyndale's work is in fact the outstanding miracle in the history of English letters'.

The sequel to Tyndale's achievement as a translator is traced by Henry Guppy in his pamphlet reprinted from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*.⁴ The versions of the whole Bible, by Coverdale, 'Thomas Matthew', Taverner, and the 'Great Bible' of 1539, in which Coverdale had the chief hand, are described in turn. The 'Great Bible' enabled the clergy to comply with the royal injunction of 1538 that they were to set up 'one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume, in English', in some convenient place within their church. Between April 1539 and December 1541 seven more or less revised editions appeared, and Guppy calculates that twenty thousand copies were issued.

In a field of prose very different from that cultivated by Tyndale and his successors in Biblical translation there has been a new edition prepared by Herbert W. Hartman of *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*.⁵ This collection of twelve tales, if we can trust the prefatory epistles, was sent for publication by George Pettie's friend, 'R. B.', against the author's wish, apparently in 1576. Six editions appeared, of which only two are dated, in 1608 and 1613. The only comparatively recent reprint was in a modernized text by Gollancz in 1908. Hartman has now reproduced the exact text of the first edition printed by Richard Watkins; the variants from the later

⁴ *The Royal Injunctions of 1536 and 1538 and 'The Great Bible' 1539 to 1541*, by Henry Guppy. With 8 facsimiles. Manchester Univ. Press. pp. 43. 1s. 6d.

⁵ *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*, ed. by Herbert Hartman. O.U.P. pp. xxxiv+327. 25s.

editions, including the second, of which there is a unique copy, are given in footnotes.

The twelve tales of the *Petite Pallace* have nearly all a classical source and setting, but Pettie himself tells R. B. that some of them 'touch neerely divers of my nere freindes . . . darkely figured forth'. Apart from these topical allusions, enigmatic even in Pettie's own day, the stories were the framework for amatory debates, *exempla*, and proverbs. Hartman, in his scholarly notes, gives special attention to the proverbs. He traces their sources and their currency and adds an alphabetical index of them. In his introduction he discusses the place of the *Petite Pallace* in the evolution of Euphuism, and analyses its chief elements under three heads, 'schemata verborum', sentence-structure, and ornaments, of all of which he gives instances. His volume deserves a welcome from Elizabethan students.

A sensational story drawn not from fiction but from real life is discussed by E. St. John Brooks in *A Pamphlet by Arthur Golding: The Murder of George Saunders* (*N. and Q.*, 12 March). This pamphlet or 'discourse' was reprinted from its second edition in 1577 by L. T. Golding in *An Elizabethan Puritan* (see *Y.W.* xviii. 114–15). It was an account of the murder of George Saunders by his wife's lover, George Browne, on 24 March 1573, and of the execution of Browne, Anne Saunders, and of a Mistress Drury who had instigated Browne to commit the crime. Brooks gives particulars of the family connexions of George and Anne Saunders, who had relatives of high degree. Further details and corrections were supplied by B. H. Newdigate (*N. and Q.*, April 2) and by L. G. H. Horton-Smith (*ibid.*, May 7) who points out that Saunders's mother, in the extant copy of her will dated 12 October 1572, speaks of him as her 'late sonne'. If this date is correct the murder must have preceded it, but the document is not the original will, and there may have been some confusion.

Another murder in a high social scale was that of Nicholas Turberville, the brother of George (*Y.W.* xviii. 115–16), by his brother-in-law, John Morgan, in January 1579/80. In *The Murder of Nicholas Turberville: Two Ballads* Norma H. Hodg-

son prints the ballads based on the crime which have come to light in the letter-book of Robert Gregory, an Elizabethan Member of Parliament for Weymouth. They are written in the usual 'eights and sixes', but their contents are somewhat out of the ordinary run. The first ballad deplores the loss of Turberville, who is credited with the virtues of some half-dozen classical heroes and sages, while Morgan is vituperated in equally unmeasured terms. The second ballad is an 'answer' denouncing Turberville and lauding Morgan, especially for his religious bearing at the end, which Mrs. Hodgson finds confirmed in his farewell letters.

Harold Davis, in *H.L.Q.* (July), adds to the biographical data concerning *John Brende: Soldier and Translator*. Brende, the translator of Quintus Curtius, had reached the middle of the fifth book in an English version of Julius Caesar when he was 'prevented by death'. The work was carried on by Arthur Golding, who thought it best to scrap Brende's unfinished product and to carry through his own translation in uniform style.

Davis gives reason for identifying the translator with John Brende, who was 'Master of Musters for the Northern Partes', 1547-50 and 1557-9. He thinks it probable that he was the John Brand, knighted the day after Mary's coronation, and the Sir John Brende of Beccles, Suffolk, whose will was proved in 1561. Details of his military service in Scotland are given from the State Papers and the Privy Council Register.

George B. Parks discusses in detail *The First Draft of Ascham's 'Scholemaster'* (*H.L.Q.*, April). This draft is preserved in B.M. MSS. Royal B. xxiv. 2, ff. 47-78, and is apparently autograph. It appears to date from 1563-4 and to be 'neither a fair copy nor an initial rough draft, but something in between', with 'no intervening revision before the final revision in 1568'. The draft is only of Book I of *The Scholemaster*, dealing with the general objectives of education. Whether Ascham also made a draft in 1563-4 of Book II, which was concerned with the methods of elementary education, there is nothing to show. The draft is about one-third shorter than the printed text of 1570, the chief differences being in the first section on the gentleness

needed in a schoolmaster and in the third on the corrupting influence of Italy. An important omission is the passage on the 'bawdie books' from the Italian which had been printed in England shortly before Ascham's final revision. On the other hand the draft contains some passages which Ascham shortened or omitted in the printed version, such as the eulogies concerning the luminaries of St. John's College, Cambridge, and the Queen and the indictment of Romanist persecutors.

The present writer in the revived Elizabeth Howland lecture⁶ dealt with the career of Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels from July 1579 to October 1610, and supplied new biographical facts from his will. He gave an account of Tilney's only known work, *A Discourse of Duties in Marriage*, in prose dialogue form, dedicated to the queen in 1568, and republished in 1571 and 1577.

The pages of recent volumes of *The Year's Work* have given evidence of increasing interest in John Skelton, and a welcome has now to be given to L. J. Lloyd's well-written and scholarly study of his life and work.⁷ He gives a summary of the meagre biographical data which leave uncertain the date and place of his birth and the reason for his migration from employment at court to the far-off rectory of Diss. In his first considerable poem *The Bowge of Courte* Lloyd finds a skilful adaptation of medieval allegory. 'Traditional formulae are re-stated with Skelton's own peculiar originality and vigour. Vagueness is exchanged for clarity, the shadowy for the concrete.' With *Phyllyp Sparowe* he throws over the orthodox rhyme royal stanza for the 'lilting doggerel', henceforth to be identified with his name, and for which forerunners may be to some extent found in Latin songs by the wandering scholars and in some passages of Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*. With astonishing versatility Skelton uses the metre of *Phyllyp Sparowe* for the coarsely realistic pictures of tavern life in *Elynour Rummynge* and the ferocious invective of the three

⁶ *Queen Elizabeth, the Revels Office and Edmund Tilney*, by F. S. Boas. O.U.P. pp. 27. 1s. 6d.

⁷ *John Skelton: A Sketch of his Life and Writings*, by L. J. Lloyd. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 152. 10s. 6d.

satires on Wolsey. Of these Lloyd ranks *Colyn Cloute* with its closely packed thought and its clarity far above the incoherent *Speke Parrot* and the hysterical *Why come ye nat to Courte?* For the last time the metre is put to yet another use in *A Reply-cacion*, to assert Skelton's religious orthodoxy and to deliver what Lloyd calls his 'noble poetic credo'.

Skelton reverts to the more academic vein of *The Bowge of Courte* in *The Garlande of Laurell*, with its tantalizing list of lost works by the poet, and in his only surviving play, *Magnyfycence*. But in it again traditional allegory is given topical significance and is used to warn Henry VIII, before whom it may have been performed, of threatening evils. Lloyd gives an interesting analysis of the play, which 'is a storehouse of examples of Skelton's employment of his vast technique', and which, 'as a piece of academic writing', he rates as his finest work.

Skeltonic chronological and other problems are discussed in detail by H. L. R. Edwards in *The Dating of Skelton's Later Poems* (P.M.L.A., June). He brings evidence to show that it was not till May 1512 that Skelton was able to use the title of 'Orator Royal'. He agrees with W. Nelson (see *Y.W.* xvii. 113) in dating *Speke Parrot* 1521 but queries some points in his interpretation of the poem. In support of Nelson's view that Skelton was reconciled in his later years to Wolsey, Edwards instances the mention of 'Mag. Skelton' as present at the recantation and penalty of Thomas Bowgas, a Colchester heretic. In the same number Nelson replies to some of Edwards's points and refers to the inclusion of 'John Skelton of London, clerk, poet laureate, late of Disse. Norf.' in an amnesty of Henry VIII, 21 October 1509. The poet, therefore, did not remain permanently at Diss, though there are proofs of his residence up to 1511. Finally Edwards and Nelson append supplementary statements.

The major part of W. Murison's volume on Sir David Lyndsay⁸ falls outside the scope of this survey, for it deals with the question of how far Lyndsay's attacks on the pre-Reformation

⁸ *Sir David Lyndsay: Poet, and Satirist of the Old Church of Scotland*, by W. Murison. C.U.P. pp. xiii + 227. 10s. 6d.

Church in Scotland are supported by historical evidence. But in the earlier pages he sketches Sir David's career, which in some aspects runs curiously parallel with that of Skelton, and then gives an account of his poems, which show him to be 'a ready versifier with a command of clear and fitting language . . . a quick observer, a man of shrewd sense, a great humorist, a clever painter of life'. Murison, however, considers that Lyndsay's chief gift is his dramatic skill shown in *Ane Satyre of the Three Estaitis*. He gives an account of the performances in 1540 at Linlithgow, in 1552 at Cupar, and in 1554 at Edinburgh, and indicates the differences between the three versions.

The object of Edwin Casady's study of *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*,⁹ 'is to interpret the character of the man and of his poetry'. The biographical aspect, however, overshadows the critical, for nine chapters are, except incidentally, devoted to Surrey's personal career and its background, while his 'contribution to English Literature' is dealt with in an appendix. Casady's volume is therefore more important to historical than to literary students but is of value to both. His treatment here of Surrey's political and military career is an elaboration, supported by copious documentary evidence, of the view set forth by him previously in a 1936 *P.M.L.A.* article¹⁰ that the Earl had great abilities and that his fate was not due to faults of character but to the shifting of power from the older nobility, like the Howards, to newer men like the Seymours.

As Surrey (contrary to the tradition started in *The Arte of English Poesie*) seems never to have visited Italy, Casady suggests that Italian influence on his writing began in 1532-3 when he and Luigi Alamanni were both at the French Court in Paris and when the latter published his *Opere Toscane*, containing both rhymed and blank verse dedicated to Francis I. Casady emphasizes the skill with which Surrey refined poetic diction and adapted Petrarchan sonnets to an English background. He minimizes (perhaps unduly) the autobiographical element in Surrey's poetry, which he regards as exercises in

⁹ *Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey*, by Edwin Casady. New York: M.L.A.A.; London: O.U.P. pp. xii+257. 11s. 6d.

¹⁰ See *Y.W.* xvii. 115.

'polite verse', and in particular he exposes the myth of their connexion with the fair Geraldine. The most sincere expression of the Earl's emotions he finds in the free paraphrases from the Penitential Psalms and the first five chapters of *Ecclesiastes* which he believes were written during the last seven weeks of Surrey's life when he was a prisoner in the Tower. Some of Casady's views are debatable but his scholarly study is to be welcomed.

Some of the difficult problems concerning the publication of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, and Sackville's relation to the work as a whole, have been noted in successive volumes of this survey.¹¹ These questions have been further debated in 1938. Fitzroy Pyle, in *Hermathena* (xxvi, pp. 1-28), on *The Prohibited Issue of 'A Mirror for Magistrates'*, once again supports in the main the conclusions of W. F. Trench, as against Lily Campbell, and puts the prohibition before 10 September 1554, and very possibly before 1 June. Pyle writes also on *Thomas Sackville and 'A Mirror for Magistrates'* (*R.E.S.*, July). He argues that the 'tragedy' of the Duke of Buckingham was in existence, if not necessarily complete, before the prohibition, and that Sackville was one of the original writers for *The Mirror*. From a comparison of the printed text and the recently discovered manuscript version of the 'Induction' and 'Buckingham' Pyle suggests plausibly that the former was edited by Baldwin.

Lily B. Campbell has crowned her previous work on *The Mirror for Magistrates* (see *Y.W.* xv. 154-6; xvii. 115-16) by the publication of the complete text of the *Mirror*¹² in the successive editions of 1559, 1563, 1578, and 1587. In an appendix she collates the manuscript version of Sackville's the 'Induction' and 'The Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham', with important variants and additional stanzas discovered by Margaret Hearsey in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge (see *Y.W.* xvii. 116-17). She omits the British 'trage-

¹¹ See *Y.W.* xiii. 140-1; xv. 154-5; xvi. 170; xvii. 115-17.

¹² *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. from original texts in the Huntington Library by Lily B. Campbell. (Huntington Library Publications.) C.U.P. pp. vii+554. 21s.

dies' of John Higgins which appeared in the so-called 'First Part' of the *Mirror* in 1574 and were included in the 1587 edition.

Miss Campbell's enterprise was suggested and facilitated by the fact that the Huntington Library possessed a uniquely complete collection of first editions of the various parts of *The Mirror*, of which she gives a description, including the 1571, 1574, and 1575 editions which did not introduce any new matter. The verbal variants in the different editions are recorded in the footnotes.

In her introduction Miss Campbell discusses the complicated history of the publication of the various editions of *The Mirror*, which has been dealt with in previous volumes of *The Year's Work*, as already indicated. Her presentment of this part of her subject is elucidated by a series of attractive reprints of title-pages and other significant leaves. This is followed by an account of the contributors to *The Mirror* who were not 'literary poets nor . . . minor writers of the day, but . . . learned men who were accepted as important figures in their own time'. They were thus qualified to carry out the purpose of *The Mirror*, wherein the function of political teaching is transferred from the historian to the poets. The 'tragedies' of *The Mirror* were thus, as Miss Campbell emphasizes, 'chosen for their usefulness in teaching political truth, rather than for their historical importance'.

Recent scholarship has increasingly recognized the importance of the *Mirror* from many points of view in sixteenth-century literature. Haslewood's limited 1815 reprint is not easily accessible, and it is a signal service to Elizabethan students to put in their hands this monumental edition.

In an article on *George Gascoigne and Elizabeth Bacon Bretton Boyes Gascoigne* (*R.E.S.*, July) C. T. Prouty throws new light from legal documents on the marriage of Gascoigne and some related problems. This marriage, as Prouty shows, took place at Christ Church, Newgate, on 23 November 1561. The bride, Elizabeth, daughter of John Bacon, had first been married to William Bretton and then to Edward Boyes. The fact of the second marriage has been disputed, but Prouty quotes from

a Chancery Bill brought by Bretton's children in 1566 against Boyes for restitution of property the statement that 'Edward Boyes hath been . . . by due order and sentence in form of law divorced from the said Elizabeth', their mother. But the divorce had not taken place by 23 November 1561 and, in Prouty's view, the marriage between Elizabeth and Gascoigne must have been celebrated a second time.

Though *Johannes Stamler's 'Dyalogus'*, described by Elizabeth Nugent in *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) and published at Augsburg in 1508, is of German origin, it may be briefly noted here as probably the first of the 'prodigal son' plays, though 'prodigal' is given a religious and not a moral interpretation in this thirteen-act piece. The central figure, Arnestes, has been kidnapped in his youth and sold into the service of the Tartar 'imperator', from which he escapes and becomes among the Turks a Mohammedan. On his return home he defends his apostasy in a controversy in which an historian and a physicist, a 'laicus' and a Jew, take part, as well as the papal representative, Doctor Oliver, who finally reconverts Arnestes and persuades the Jew also to be baptized. Miss Nugent reproduces the interesting frontispiece to the *Dyalogus* in the lower half of which the 'disputatores' are shown standing in a semicircle round Doctor Oliver who is seated.

The Geography of the 'Interlude of the Four Elements' is discussed by George B. Parks in *P.Q.* (July). In the lecture by Experience to Studious Desire he refers to 'that ffigure yonder', apparently a map hung up in sight of the audience. From the description that follows Parks infers that the map included the northern hemisphere only, and he concludes that Rastell must have used either an early navigator's map of the world or an archaic academic map. Parks further discusses some of the details in Rastell's account of North America and decides that he 'was not a very competent person to deliver a lecture on geography'.

From a somewhat different angle M. E. Borish discusses the *Source and Intention of 'The Four Elements'* (*S. in Ph.*, April). From the close similarity between passages in the interlude

and Gregor Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica* he concludes that this work furnished Rastell with much of his material. The 1515 edition of the *Margarita* was accompanied by a map of the world wherein 'India major' is also described as the 'imperium' of Prester John. As Rastell repeats this there can be little doubt that he used this edition and map.

With regard to the intention of the interlude Borish suggests that Rastell wished to stimulate English colonizing activities in competition with those of the French and the Portuguese and in particular to draw the attention of his countrymen to the rich fisheries of the new-found lands which would make London and other east-coast towns independent of Iceland, which was still the chief fishing-ground.

In *John Heywood and Classical Mythology* (N. and Q., May 21) John W. McCain, Jr., notes how few are the classical allusions in Heywood's writings, especially in his plays, except for the Latin names of Jupiter and other deities in *Wether*. In *Heywood's 'The Foure PP': A Debt to Skelton* (N. and Q., May 21) McCain suggests that the dramatist borrowed the name 'Margery' in the Pardoner's description of his visit to Hell from *Colin Clout*, where there is an account of the action of an ecclesiastic to 'release Dame Margery's soul out of Hell'.

James R. Kreuzer gives *Some Earlier Examples of the Rhetorical Device in Ralph Roister Doister* (R.E.S., July), i.e. the equivocal punctuation of the love-letter in Act III. iv. 36 ff. He calls attention to a similar device in an eight-lined stanza in B.M. Add. MS. 5465, f. 12*b*, which is also found with slight variants in Harl. MS. 2250, f. 84*b*, and Trin. Coll. Cambridge MS. 366, f. iii*a*. Another example of the device is found in Pembroke Coll. Cambridge MS. 307, f. 197*b*, where the fifteenth-century scribe has written the seven-lined stanza twice, with the punctuation different in each case.

To the two selections of Tudor comedies in the World's Classics series (see *Y.W.* xv. 157 and 187-8) there has been added a similar selection of *Five Elizabethan Tragedies*¹³ with

¹³ *Five Elizabethan Tragedies*, ed. by A. K. McIlwraith. O.U.P. pp. xx+399. 2s.

an admirable introduction and glossarial footnotes. Two of these tragedies, Seneca's *Thyestes*, translated by Jasper Heywood, and *Gorboduc* by Norton and Sackville, fall within the limits of this chapter. It will be convenient to many to have them in this form with modernized spelling and punctuation.

Elizabeth R. Payne has performed a service to students of Tudor school-drama by editing *Sapientia Solomonis* which was acted before the Queen and Princess Cecilia of Sweden by the Westminster boys on 17 January 1565/6.¹⁴ The play, which is an adaptation of Sixt Birck's piece with the same title, is preserved in the copy prepared for the use of Elizabeth at this performance by 'puellorum cohors'. The discovery by Mr. Lawrence E. Tanner among the Westminster Abbey muniments (no. 54,000) of the bill of costs for the production of the play by 'the children of the grammer schoole' puts it beyond doubt that it was the Westminster boys who acted it before Elizabeth on the above date, though *Sapientia Solomonis*, either Sixt Birck's drama or an adaptation, had been performed at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1559-60. A facsimile of the bill, which contains twenty-four interesting items, with a transcript, is included in this edition.

Miss Payne, in her introduction, compares the original *Sapientia Solomonis* with the adaptation, in which the unity of tone is sacrificed for the sake of greater liveliness. With the aid of the bill of costs she reconstructs a number of details of the performance which took place in the College Hall. As the Choirmaster's 'instrumentes' were brought for the occasion, it is probable that choirboys of the Abbey supplied the music. There was a drop-scene on which the city and temple of Jerusalem were painted, and there were 'houses'. The total expense was 52s. 10d., paid by the Dean to the Headmaster, Mr. Browne.

Miss Payne prints the manuscript text, with her own prose translation facing it, and with the variants of Sixt Birck's printed text in the parallel passages in her textual notes, except where the printed reading is manifestly preferable. She also

¹⁴ *Sapientia Solomonis* . . . edited from B.M. Add. MS. 20061 . . . by Elizabeth Rogers Payne. Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. ix+165. \$3.00.

gives in these notes the passages of the original omitted by the adapter. A commentary on points requiring elucidation completes a thoroughly comprehensive edition.

John Murray discusses *Tancred and Gismund* in *R.E.S.* (Oct.). He deals with the relation of the play in its revised form by Wilmot to *Gismonde of Salerne*, which he thinks may have been performed at Greenwich on 6 April 1568 rather than on a late February 1566 date which Chambers prefers. He discusses the staging and sources of the play and its place in the history of drama in a sufficiently interesting way but without making novel points.

Bartlett J. Whiting's *Proverbs in the Earlier English Drama* has been noticed above (pp. 95-6), but its later section deals with proverbs in plays falling within the scope of this chapter.

VII

SHAKESPEARE

By ALLARDYCE NICOLL

THE year 1938 has seen the appearance of two books of a somewhat similar tenor, although in scope they differ widely. The first is the late Edgar I. Fripp's examination of the life and work of the dramatist.¹ Many are the biographies of Shakespeare, yet, despite their number, this fresh study has a point of view and a supporting body of material which renders it distinct and most worthwhile. Fripp knew his Stratford intimately; intimately too did he know the events, the gossip, the contemporaries of Shakespeare; and from this knowledge has emerged a study which throws fresh light on the poet's development from school-boy to owner of New Place. Many suggestions brought forward in these volumes regarding the possible influence upon Shakespeare of happenings either local or national must be regarded as suggestions merely, but all are pertinent and serve to add to our imaginative picture of the man and his times. True, Fripp's conception of Shakespeare was not a little coloured by idolatry, so that he attempts to soften any aspersions cast upon him, to display him as a man virtuous in all things, to deny in him the possibility not only of vices but of common human failings; but such a conception does not seriously detract from the value of this study. Particularly significant are the comments on the reading of Shakespeare and on his indebtedness to works so different as the Bible and the poems of Ovid; there is basic material here for an understanding of the poet's development as a master of the English language and as a master of imagery.

Fripp's volumes take their worth from the close acquaintance-ship of the writer with the minutiae of Elizabethan life and literature. A similar worth attaches itself to the late Oliver Baker's *In Shakespeare's Warwickshire*.² Baker's intimate

¹ *Shakespeare, Man and Artist*, by Edgar I. Fripp. O.U.P. 2 vols. pp. xxii+939. 38s.

² *In Shakespeare's Warwickshire and the Unknown Years*, by Oliver Baker. Simpkin Marshall, 1937. pp. 319. 15s.

account of country life in Warwick, Snitterfield, and Stratford forms an invaluable background to a reading of the plays, and that account is so felicitously expressed that more than the mere facts impinge themselves upon our attention. In the final chapters of the book Baker brings forward an interesting and entertaining theory. Several students have toyed with the idea that Shakespeare not only had the opportunity of witnessing the performance of plays in Stratford but had actually abandoned Stratford as a humble member of some touring company. Baker first discusses the opportunity, and notes the number of visits paid during these years to Stratford by professional players. He then turns to Aubrey's famous allusion to the youth's 'killing a calf' in high style. This, Baker points out, must be a reference to a special kind of dramatic performance popular in Warwickshire; it was called *Killing the Calf* and consisted of a series of impersonations; Aubrey states that Shakespeare and another Stratford boy were particularly adept in this kind of drollery. Following this, Baker draws attention to the will (1581) of an Alexander Hoghton of Lea in Lancaster. This man apparently was a lover of the drama and had some players in his retinue. Among these were mentioned a 'Fulke Gyllome' and a 'William Shakeshafte'. Shakeshafte was, as Baker notes, a variant name used by the poet's grandfather, and he hazards the suggestion that these two players were none other than Shakespeare himself and his fellow performer mentioned by Aubrey. Unfortunately, beyond the facts that Fulke was a fairly common Warwickshire name and that there were many Gilloms at Bidford-on-Avon and Henley-in-Arden, no documentary proof can be adduced in defence of this theory. If such proof were obtainable, the puzzle regarding Shakespeare's early years would, of course, be solved, while in addition to that we should have explained for us his surprisingly accurate knowledge of the law—for the executor to Hoghton's will was Thomas Hesketh, of Gray's Inn. In this man's employment Baker thinks the young Shakespeare may have been trained in legal affairs before he returned to his first love, the stage.

Naturally, into this picture aptly fit the earliest references to

Shakespeare. Thomas H. McNeal, in *The Tyger's Heart wrapt in a Player's Hide* (S.A.B., Jan.), deems that Shakespeare was deeply disturbed by the tirade directed against him in *A Groatsworth of Wit*, and that replies may be found in sonnet cxxx, satirizing *A Most Rare Dreame*, and in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Vaguely connected with Shakespeare's biography are C. L'Estrange Ewen's notes on *Shakspeare of Nottinghamshire* (N. and Q., Feb. 5).

Of critical studies, devoted to general themes and to particular plays, there have been many published during the year. Blanche Coles, in her *Shakespeare Studies*, essays a fairly straightforward but educationally useful approach.³ As Hardin Craig points out, the average school and college student finds a certain difficulty in understanding Shakespeare, consequently 'makes mistakes, becomes confused, and loses interest'. To remedy this, Mrs. Coles has provided two volumes, each of which sets forth the story of the play in a direct and simple manner, paraphrasing the actors' lines and providing necessary explanations of more obscure passages. One may well agree with Craig that these volumes, despite their simplicity, or perhaps because of that, possess 'decided pedagogical utility'.

Of Arthur E. Baker's *A Shakespeare Dictionary*, fifteen parts, completing volume i, have now appeared.⁴ Each of these parts is devoted to a single play. Baker gives the chief relevant facts concerning date and publication, provides a fairly detailed paraphrase of the action, a glossary of characters and place-names and sections from the sources used by Shakespeare in the composition of his works. For ready reference these volumes when completed and if supplied with a general index, should prove of considerable usefulness to students.

³ *Shakespeare Studies*: (1) *Hamlet*, (2) *Macbeth*. by Blanche Coles. New York: Richard R. Smith. pp. xii+298; pp. xii+289. \$2.50 each.

⁴ *A Shakespeare Dictionary*, by Arthur E. Baker. The Author, Taunton. pp. (numbered continuously) 966. Separate parts 2s. 3d. to 5s.

E. M. W. Tillyard contributes a penetrating and suggestive book on the last plays.⁵ Herein Tillyard propounds the theory that there are two dominant themes in the final works—what he styles ‘The Tragic Pattern’ and ‘Planes of Reality’. In the true tragic pattern he sees, not only disaster, but regeneration following pain and torment.

‘The first part of my argument is, that one of Shakespeare’s main concerns in his last plays, whether deliberately taken up or fortuitously drifted into, was to develop the final phase of the tragic pattern, to add, as it were, his *Eumenides* to the already completed *Agamemnon* and *Choephoroe*, a process repeated by Milton when he supplemented *Paradise Lost* with *Samson Agonistes*.’

Throughout these plays, he believes, Shakespeare was trying to express this last emotion of the tragic pattern and at the same time to suggest the different planes of reality in which our lives are led. *Cymbeline* was a failure; reconciliation of the two themes was nearly reached in *The Winter’s Tale*; in *The Tempest* complete solution is attained. *The Tempest*, he argues, not only gives ‘Shakespeare’s fullest sense of the different worlds we can inhabit; it is also the necessary epilogue to an already apprehended series of tragic masterpieces’.

Shakespeare Survey, by William Empson and George Garrett,⁶ contains three essays and an epilogue—the first two by Empson, the third by Garrett, and the last by Robert Herring. Garrett’s cynical ‘That Four-Flusher Prospero’ has already been noted in *Y.W.* (xviii. 130). ‘The Best Policy’ deals with Shakespeare’s use of ‘honesty’ in *Othello*, while ‘Timon’s Dog’ deals with the ‘symbolic’ use of the word ‘dog’ in *Timon of Athens*. Empson’s endeavour is to show that ‘Shakespeare did not so much harp on a word as use it time and again for a different purpose, turning a different facet to the light’.

Measure for Measure is taken by C. J. Reimer⁷ as a deliberate essay in Christian conceptions, with two opposed sets of ideas

⁵ *Shakespeare’s Last Plays*, by E. M. Tillyard. Chatto and Windus. pp. 85. 3s. 6d.

⁶ *Shakespeare Survey*, by William Empson and George Garrett. Brendin Publishing Co. pp. 64. 1s.

⁷ *Der Begriff der Gnade in Shakespeares ‘Measure for Measure’*, by Christian Josef Reimer, 1937. Marburg. pp. 110.

—those of the ‘positive pole’, Grace, Virtue, Mercy, Pardon, Heaven, and those of the ‘negative pole’, Sin, Vice, Offence, Fault. By dealing with these concepts verbally and through his characters, Reimer believes that Shakespeare here ‘gibt uns ein harmonisches Bild von Shakespeares echt christlicher Gesinnung’.

R. W. Chambers also deals with this theme.⁸ *Measure for Measure* he sees as a moral essay, akin in general spirit to the tragedies and the romances. The lecture also challenges the view that Shakespeare’s career entered upon a melancholy phase in the reign of James I.

The ethical side of Shakespeare’s work is examined by A. T. Cadoux.⁹ Cadoux takes the plays separately and, discussing the characters, attempts to reach the dramatist’s fundamental ideas of human good. Aptly he points out that ‘only superficial reading’ of the plays ‘could miss Shakespeare’s emphatic reiteration that the man whose chief concern is self-regard is heading for spiritual catastrophe’. Loyalty, he believes, was the virtue Shakespeare most sought and admired.

The form and structure of the comedies is analysed, a trifle mechanically, by Walter Jacobi.¹⁰ After a brief theoretical discussion, Jacobi surveys rapidly the forms of comedy before Shakespeare’s time and then proceeds to an examination of eleven selected plays, with particular attention paid to the elements of conflict and contrast.

A fresh study of Shakespeare’s women comes from the hand of Tarquinio Vallese.¹¹ Woman, Vallese avers, almost always ‘forms the nucleus of the dramatic action or, at any rate, the centre about which the other characters gravitate’. With this idea in view, he proceeds to analyse the female characters and their positions in the body of the plays.

⁸ *The Jacobean Shakespeare and ‘Measure for Measure’*, by R. W. Chambers. Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1937. pp. 60. 2s.

⁹ *Shakespearean Selves: An Essay in Ethics*, by Arthur Temple Cadoux. The Epworth Press. pp. 176. 5s.

¹⁰ *Form und Struktur der Shakespeareschen Komödien*, by Walter Jacobi. Berlin: Triltsch & Huther. pp. 134.

¹¹ *Donne Shakespeariane*, by Tarquinio Vallese. Milan: Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri. 1937. pp. 72.

The influence exerted by *Hamlet* on Shakespeare's contemporaries is studied by D. M. McGinn.¹² Widespread knowledge and imitation of the play are here demonstrated. John W. Draper essays an interesting theme in *The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience*,¹³ endeavouring to determine the way in which the tragic idea might have affected those who saw it first upon the stage. Draper's attitude is well informed and sensible. Max Priess attempts a fresh study of *Das Hamlet-Problem* (*Eng. Stud.*, 1937, lxxii, Heft 1), as do Ernst Weigelin in *Eine neue Hamleterklärung* (*Die neueren Sprachen*, Heft 9) and Magdalene Klein in *Shakespeares Hamlet* (*ibid.*, Heft 7-8). Helen L. Gardner discusses Hamlet's treatment of Ophelia in *Lawful Espousals* (*M.L.R.*, July). She finds it difficult to accept Dover Wilson's interpretation in view of contemporary stage practice in other 'overhearing scenes'; she suggests, moreover, that a definite value is lost if that interpretation be accepted. T. C. C. contributes *Three Notes on Hamlet* (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 13). *Hamlet's 'To be or not to be' Soliloquy* (*S.A.B.*, Oct.) is discussed by N. B. Allen. He believes that it definitely deals with the thought of suicide but, as that thought does not seem in keeping with what has been shown us thus far of Hamlet's personality, suggests that it may have been a lyric unit inserted in the play.

An interesting article by Alwin Thaler, *Shakespeare on Style, Imagination and Poetry* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.), demonstrates, through the poet's own words, how much he was of a conscious artist. Robert G. Berkelman has an excellent article on *Shakespeare: Ventriloquist* (*Sewanee Review*, July-Sept.), in which he refutes Tolstoi's accusation that Shakespeare's characters have but one common language. Berkelman demonstrates the immense range of verbal and thought patterns to be found in the plays. A cognate theme is dealt with by Wilhelm Franz in *Zur Sprachkunst Shakespeares* (*Anglia*, May). Convention in *Shakespeare's Description of Emotion* (*P.Q.*, Jan.) is discussed by

¹² *Shakespeare's Influence on the Drama of his Age, studied in Hamlet*, by Donald Joseph McGinn. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press. pp. xiv + 241.

¹³ *The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience*, by John W. Draper. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press. pp. xii + 254.

Albert L. Walker. In a suggestive manner Walker examines both the treatment and description of emotions in the dramatist's lines. *Flattery, a Shakespearian Tragic Theme* (*P.Q.*, July), forms the subject of an essay by John W. Draper. Noting the habitual distrust and fear of flattery during the Renaissance, Draper traces the borrowing of a theme from Marlowe and its pursuit through *Richard II* and *Julius Caesar* on to *Lear*, *Timon*, and *Coriolanus*. *Shakespeares Leben und der Sinn der Tragödien* is discussed by Wolfgang Schmidt (*Die neueren Sprachen*, Heft 9). Max Deutschbein examines *Die Tragik in Shakespeares 'Julius Caesar'* (*Anglia*, May); the tragic theme in *Coriolanus* is commented upon by Enid Glen, in *A Note on 'Coriolanus'* (*N. and Q.*, May 14), and by Hermann Heuer, in *Shakespeare und Plutarch* (*Anglia*, May). In *Intervals of Time and their Effect upon Dramatic Values in Shakespeare's Tragedies* (*J.E.G.P.*, Jan.) Thomas M. Raysor demonstrates the dramatist's mastery of time and notes that drama essentially belongs not in place but in relations of preceding and succeeding events.

In *Recent Shakespeare Criticism* (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, vol. lxxiv) Elmer Stoll deals with Charlton's study of Shakespeare's comedy (incidentally treating *The Merchant of Venice* as an anti-Semitic play), with Miss Spurgeon's essay on imagery, and with the two analyses of *Hamlet* by J. D. Wilson and Granville-Barker. The *Jahrbuch* also presents several critical essays, by John W. Draper on *Bastardy in Shakespeare's Plays*, by Eva Buck on *Cleopatra*, by Wolfgang Keller on *Titus Andronicus*, and by Max Deutschbein on the soliloquy, 'O, that this too, too solid flesh would melt'. Joseph Wagner, in the same annual, inquires *Was ist uns Shakespeare?* and Rainer Schlösser writes on *Der deutsche Shakespeare*. The *Jahrbuch* presents its familiar Bücherschau, prepared by Wolfgang Keller, and its Zeitschriftenschau, written by Karl Thielke, together with a bibliography for 1937 and statistics concerning performances of the plays.

Besides the studies referred to above, J. W. Draper discusses *The Humor of Corporal Nym* (*S.A.B.*, July) as that of the contemporary sham soldier. A similar essay by R. Balfour Daniels, *Shakespeare and the Puritans* (*S.A.B.*, Jan.), reveals the poet's

contempt of this class of men and his dislike of their growth in power. In *Falstaff, an Elizabethan Glutton* (P.Q., July), John W. Shirley suggests that gluttony was the chief element in Falstaff's nature and that Shakespeare was influenced by the presentation of that vice in the moralities. John W. Draper discusses the dramatic function of Sir Toby in *Sir Toby's 'Cakes and Ale'* (*English Studies*, April). Draper, in *The Date of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'* (M.L.N. April), adds further evidence for dating the play in 1595 and particularly for connecting it with May Day of that year. Katherine Lever, writing on *Proverbs and Sententiae in the Plays of Shakspeare* (S.A.B., July and Oct.), examines those characters who are made most subject to this method of self-expression.

Various researches deal with Shakespeare's sources. Ernest H. Cox, in *Another Medieval Convention in Shakspeare* (S.A.B., Apr.), examines the 'comtemptus mundi' theme, especially in *Hamlet*. George C. Taylor's *Hermione's Statue Again* (*Shakspeare's Return to Bandello*) (S.A.B., Apr.) is concerned with the suggestion that *The Winter's Tale* was indebted to the same story which already had been utilized in *Much Ado*. Joseph E. Morris relates *The Lady of the Strachy* in '*Twelfth Night*' (N. and Q., Nov. 12) to a recorded event. *A Tutor from Rheims* in *The Taming of the Shrew* (N. and Q., Mar. 5) Richard H. Perkinson believes to be a topical reference to Rheims as a centre of Catholic study. *Seacole* in *Much Ado about Nothing* (N. and Q., Jan. 22) John R. Moore traces to the contemporary Seacole-lane. Hope Traver, writing under the title of *I will try Confusions with him* (S.A.B., Apr.), analyses the way in which *The Merchant of Venice*, one of the most 'medieval' of Shakespeare's plays, might have taken shape out of a diversity of material inherited from the Middle Ages. *Who is Silvia?—And other Problems in the Greene-Shakspeare Relationship* (S.A.B., Oct.) occupies the attention of Thomas H. McNeal. He demonstrates the poet's indebtedness, in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merchant of Venice*, to Greene's love pamphlets. His judgement is that Greene deserves a more important place as a forerunner of Shakespeare. Thomas B. Stroup writes on *Shakespeare's Use of a Travel-book Commonplace* (P.Q., Oct.). This commonplace

is the reference to cannibals in *Othello*. Stroup shows that the allusion is traceable, not only to Pliny and Mandeville, but to a variety of other sources; Shakespeare might have picked it up from any of these. The *Astrology in Shakespeare's 'Lear'* (*English Stud.*, Dec.) Robert H. Darby finds to be a studied attempt to compliment James I; similar attempts to flatter the King are found in *Macbeth*, according to John W. Draper in *Macbeth as a Compliment to James I* (*Eng. Stud.* lxxii, Heft 2) and *Historic Local Colour in 'Macbeth'* (*Revue Belge de Phil. et d'Hist.*, Jan.-June).

Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More is the subject of a book by H. H. Glunz.¹⁴ Glunz first examines More's life and work (*Utopia*, *Richard III*), then proceeds to analyse historical tragedies before Shakespeare's time, and ends by discussing More's influence on *Richard III* and the comedies. This is an interesting and detailed study of Renaissance ideology. Emil Grether contributes a less lengthy work on the indebtedness of *Henry V* to Elyot's *Governour*.¹⁵

Textual studies have not been so numerous this year. Leo Kirschbaum's *A Census of Bad Quartos* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.) is further noticed below in Chapter VIII, p. 131. He justly claims that the non-Shakespearian faulty quartos must be studied in relation to pirated texts of the Shakespearian dramas. H. R. Hoppe devotes an article in the same journal to *The First Quarto Version of 'Romeo and Juliet'*, II, vi and IV, v, 43 ff. (*R.E.S.*, July). He adduces evidence to show that these scenes in the first quarto text represent an actor-reporter's attempt to reconstruct the dialogue from parts of a play with which he was not immediately familiar. If this be true, then it is not necessary to assume either that we have here a first draft by the dramatist or relics of a pre-Shakespearian play. In *An Approximate Printing Date for the First Quarto of 'Romeo and Juliet'* (*Library*, March), the same author suggests publication between 9 Feb.

¹⁴ *Shakespeare und Morus*, by H. H. Glunz. Bochum-Langendreer: Heinrich Pöppinghaus. pp. x+267. RM. 6.

¹⁵ *Das Verhältnis von Shakespeares 'Heinrich V.' zu Sir Thomas Elyot's Governour*, by Emil Grether. Marburg: Hermann Bauer. pp. 46.

and 17 March, 1596/7. *How Jane Bell came to print the Third Quarto of Shakespeare's 'King Lear'* (P.Q., July) is told by Leo Kirschbaum. This refers to the third quarto of 1655. Hitherto it has been found difficult to determine how Jane Bell acquired the right to print this text; Kirschbaum explains the matter by supposing, as is probable, a contemporary confusion between *Lear* and the old *King Leir*. Copyright in the latter passed, with that in other plays, to Oulton in 1640; thence presumably it came to Jane Bell. N. B. Allen combats J. D. Wilson's view of Theseus' speech as *An Insertion in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'* (S.A.B., Apr.). Wilson's theories are also attacked by Samuel A. Tannenbaum in *The New Cambridge Shakspeare and 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona'* (S.A.B., July and Oct.). Two long articles are devoted to an examination of the editorial work and a concluding article has been contributed to the same journal in 1939.

C. A. Greer discusses *The Place of '1 Henry VI' in the York-Lancaster Tetralogy* (P.M.L.A., Sept.). Marc Friedlaender's article on *Some Problems of 'A Yorkshire Tragedy'* (S. in Ph., Apr.) is discussed below in Chapter VIII, pp. 144-5. R. J. Kane, in *Hamlet's Apotheosis of Man—Its Punctuation* (R.E.S., Jan.), draws attention to a similar passage in Marston's *Malcontent* where the pointing gives the rhythm of the F1 punctuation, not that of Q2. He wonders whether Marston may not have been influenced here by Burbage's delivery of the lines.

John Mair's study of the Ireland forgeries makes good reading.¹⁶ Making use of original documentary material, Mair presents an interesting and detailed study of the hoax. Some points, of course, still remain a trifle obscure—one is tempted to wonder whether the elder Ireland (despite the evidence of his letters) was quite as innocent as he and his son would have had the world believe—but the main development of this most amazing deception stands out perfectly clearly. Mair gives reasons to explain why the forgeries passed for current coin among so many, but all these reasons cannot lessen our astonish-

¹⁶ *The Fourth Forger: William Ireland and the Shakespeare Papers*, by John Mair. Cobden-Sanderson. pp. xv+244. 8s. 6d.

ment at the way in which this hoax imposed itself on contemporaries.

D. W. Thompson discusses '*Full of his Roperipe*' and '*Roperipe Terms*' (*M.L.N.*, Apr.). 'Roperie' in *Romeo and Juliet*, II. iv. 154, he thinks, probably stands for 'roperipe'. Roperipe terms were bombastic rhetorical phrases. *The Clock Passage in 'Richard III'* (*R.E.S.*, Apr.) occupies the attention of Hazelton Spencer: this is a short note referring to an earlier article by W. J. Griffin. J. Leon Lievsay discusses *Shakspeare's 'Golden World'* (*S.A.B.*, Apr.) in *As You Like It*, I. i. 127, and adduces arguments why 'world' should be used instead of 'age'. M. A. Shaaber's *A Note on '1 Henry IV'* (*S.A.B.*, Apr.) refers to I. iii. 231-6. A. H. King concludes his *Notes on 'Coriolanus'* (*English Studies*, Feb.). A. R. Cripps writes on *A Difficult Line in 'Hamlet'* (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 8). An emendation in *Lear*, III. vii. 65, is proposed by Henry Cunningham (*ibid.*, Mar. 19); another of his emendations, for *Cymbeline*, III. v. 70-4, is defended by Mary Johnston (*ibid.*, Jan. 22). G. M. Young presents a new reading for *Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 221-2 (*ibid.*, Apr. 16), which is combated by A. H. T. Clarke and W. A. Jones (*ibid.*, Apr. 23). A line in IV. iii of the same play is discussed by A. P. Rice (*ibid.*, Oct. 1). B. H. Bronson, in *Armagaunt* (*ibid.*, Oct. 8), presents a bold emendation in *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. v. 48. *To Shake Hands with Death* (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) in *3 Henry VI* is examined by Arthur P. Hudson.

T. M. Parrott has issued a useful one-volume text of twenty-three plays and the sonnets.¹⁷ This is a college text, with a well-written introduction on Shakespeare's life and work, short prefatory notes on the plays, and brief commentary on rare or obsolete words.

Several volumes of *The New Clarendon Shakespeare* have made their appearance.¹⁸ *Richard II* is edited by John M. Lothian, *Twelfth Night* by J. C. Dent, *The Merchant of Venice*

¹⁷ *Shakespeare: Twenty-Three Plays and the Sonnets* etc., by Thomas Marc Parrott. Associate Editors, Edward Hubler and R. S. Telfer. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. pp. 1116. \$4.00.

¹⁸ *The New Clarendon Shakespeare*. O.U.P. 2s. each volume.

by Ronald F. W. Fletcher, *Julius Caesar* by Ralph E. C. Houghton. Each volume, besides a special introduction, notes, and 'Select Literary Criticism', contains a brief life, a note on metre, and a note on the language, the last by C. T. Onions. Incidentally, it may be said that there did not seem to be any necessity for describing the 450-word 'life' as 'Condensed from Sir Edmund Chambers's *William Shakespeare*'.

A. Koszul has issued a new translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*¹⁹ in his 'Collection Shakespeare'. A suggestively written introduction and notes accompany the English and French texts, printed on opposite pages. A Danish translation of *Hamlet* comes from the hand of Johannes V. Jensen.²⁰ This, as is acknowledged in the foreword, owes much to J. D. Wilson's investigations and criticism.

Four Early Shakspeare Allusions (S.A.B., Apr.) are noted by William Sloane. The first is in Robert Roche's *Eustathia* (Oxford, 1599), the second in William Martyn's *Youth's Instruction* (1612); the other two 'allusions' are references in advertisements printed at the end of books in 1652 and 1699.

F. M. Kelly has produced a useful work on *Shakespearian Costume*.²¹ Following a general introduction, an analysis of costume models between 1560 and 1612 and a series of notes on separate plays form the body of the volume. These should prove of considerable value to producers, as should also the chapter entitled 'On the "Nice Conduct" of Period Costume'. Kelly surveys the various ways in which an Elizabethan play may be put on the stage and observes, rightly, that if we are dressing the characters in period costumes, it is not sufficient merely to get the details correct—the wearing of those costumes is an art in itself. 'The Nordic races', he observes, '—Britons in particular—never seem quite at their ease in unfamiliar trappings';

¹⁹ *Un Songe d'une Nuit d'Été*: traduction de A. Koszul. Antwerp. pp. xxiv+175.

²⁰ *Hamlet*. Paa Dansk ved Johannes V. Jensen. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel—Nordisk Forlag. 1937. pp. 202.

²¹ *Shakespearian Costume for Stage and Screen*, by F. M. Kelly. Adam and Charles Black. pp. x+130 (nine plates and 93 line-drawings). 8s. 6d.

the word 'costume' for them has always some of the connotations of 'fancy dress', and, having those connotations, is accompanied often by a certain constraint and sense of unease.

John C. Adams writes on *The Staging of 'The Tempest'*, III, iii (R.E.S., Oct.). When Ariel is made to clap his wings on the table, he believes, he is giving a trap signal. Referring to Shadwell's version of the play, Adams makes it clear that the food vanished from the table and assumes that the 'quaint device' involved a false top and a man concealed beneath. In *The First Illustrated Shakespeare* (Connoisseur, Dec.) Montague Summers discusses the plates in Rowe's edition. William Ven Lennep determines the date of the Restoration revival of *Richard III* to have been 1692 (T.L.S., Apr. 30). *Shakspere Resartus* (S.A.B., Apr.) by Eleanor Clark is a bitter attack upon Orson Welles's highly successful production of *Julius Caesar* in New York. Emmett L. Avery, writing on Cibber, '*King John*' and the *Students of the Law* (M.L.N., Apr.), discusses Cibber's version of *King John* and prints a letter published in one of the February, 1737, issues of *The Daily Advertiser*.

A survey of the indebtedness to Shakespeare displayed in the Beaumont and Fletcher plays has been prepared by D. M. McKeithan.²² The various borrowings, or presumed borrowings, are carefully catalogued here, and in the end McKeithan comes to the conclusion that, contrary to Thorndike's thesis, Shakespeare probably influenced Beaumont and Fletcher more than they him. It is, of course, possible that, despite the indebtedness of the collaborators to the elder playwright, Shakespeare may still have been impressed by the new style they were bringing to the Jacobean theatre. McKeithan also has an article, *Shakespearian Echoes in the Florimel Plot of Fletcher and Rowley's 'The Maid in the Mill'* (P.Q., Oct.). This plot he finds ultimately based upon a tale in *The Palace of Pleasure* but influenced by the Perdita story of *The Winter's Tale*.

In *Shakespeare and Milton* (M.L.N., May), Theodore Spencer

²² *The Debt to Shakespeare in the Beaumont-and-Fletcher Plays*, by Daniel Morley McKeithan. Privately published, Austin, Texas. pp. vii + 233.

discusses the epitaph to Sir Edward Stanley ascribed by legend to Shakespeare. This he notes has a resemblance to Milton's lines on Shakespeare; he believes that Milton knew the Stanley verses, and knew too that they were supposed to have been composed by the dramatist. That Milton was consciously or unconsciously influenced by *Macbeth* is Grant McColley's thesis in '*Macbeth*' and '*Paradise Lost*' (S.A.B., July). Examples of Gilbert's use of Shakespeare are given by E. P. Vandiver, Jr., in *W. S. Gilbert and Shakspeare* (S.A.B., July). The same author, writing on *Hardy and Shakspeare Again* (S.A.B., Apr.), enumerates various passages which demonstrate Hardy's knowledge and use of Shakespeare. Paul Kluckhohn examines *Die Dramatiker der deutschen Romantik als Shakespeare-Jünger* in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, lxxiv. *The Reading of Shakespeare in Colonial America* (*Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, xxxi, 1937, part 1) by Edwin E. Willoughby presents an interesting record of early editions in various libraries and of early performances. Max J. Wolff discusses *Antonio Conti in seinem Verhältnis zu Shakespeare* (J.E.G.P., Oct.). *Shakespeare in Greek and Latin* occupies the attention of Demetrius Caclamano, W. Jaggard, L. Graham, and H. Horton-Smith (*N. and Q.*, Nov. 26, Dec. 24).

Walter Thompson essays a fresh approach towards the Sonnets.²³ It is difficult in a brief space to summarize his arguments. 'My passion' in Sonnet 20 he believes refers to a poem, this poem being *A Lover's Complaint*; the mysterious W. H. he suggests is not one person but two, the W. standing for William Shakespeare and the H. for Henry Wriothesley. Most of the Sonnets were an 'oblation' sent by the poet to his patron, but several printed in the quarto were by Southampton in answer to Shakespeare's work. In accordance with this theory Thomson prints, first, Sonnets 1 to 20 followed by *A Lover's Complaint*, secondly, a series of sonnets, ending with that numbered 126 and followed by *The Phoenix and Turtle*, thirdly, 'The Sonnets

²³ *The Sonnets of William Shakespeare and Harry Wriothesley Third Earl of Southampton, Together with 'A Lover's Complaint' and 'The Phoenix & Turtle'*; ed. by Walter Thomson. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. pp. 199. 12s. 6d.

of Southampton', twenty-six in all. The 'Dark Woman' sonnets have a place of their own. 'We find it impossible', says Thomson, 'to lay at the door of either Southampton or Shakespeare responsibility for some of the rubbish to be found' in this series; he wonders whether Daniel may have had a hand in their composition.

Denys Bray extends his earlier work on the Sonnets in a new volume.²⁴ This is an interesting study of rhyme-links in Elizabethan sonnets generally, with an application of the findings to those by Shakespeare. *Sinnesänderung und Bildvertiefung in Shakespeares Sonetten* (Anglia, May) are examined by Wolfgang Schmidt.

A *Note for Baconians* (M.L.N., Jan.) by Lily B. Campbell concerns *Troilus & Cressida*, II. ii. 163-71. Miss Campbell notes that the often cited error of Bacon in reporting Aristotle's words regarding young men and moral philosophy is to be found also in Nicholas Grimald's address printed as a foreward to *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes thre bokes of duties* (1553).

Mathias Morhardt contributes a study *A la rencontre de 'William Shakespeare'*.²⁵ This volume contains a long preface by Abel Lefranc, in which is traced the growth of doubt concerning the identity of the poet and Shakespeare of Stratford. Morhardt presents a reasonably penned argument against the orthodox position but, as is common in all such efforts, strains his facts to make them accord with a preconceived idea. In *La Question Shakespearienne au xviii^e siècle* (Revue Bleue, Feb.) Lefranc examines the various doubts concerning the authorship of the plays which had been propounded before the year 1800.

²⁴ *Shakespeare's Sonnet-Sequence*, by Denys Bray. Martin Secker. pp. xii + 146. 12s. 6d.

²⁵ *A la rencontre de 'William Shakespeare'*, par Mathias Morhardt. Paris: Société Française d'Éditions Littéraires et Techniques. pp. 143.

VIII

THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

AMONG the 1938 publications dealing with general aspects of Elizabethan drama mention may be made first of part of chapter ii in V. de S. Pinto's *The English Renaissance*, with the relevant bibliographies, which has been more fully noticed above, p. 102.

In *A Census of Bad Quartos* (*R.E.S.*, Jan.) Leo Kirschbaum gives his reasons for classifying eleven quartos, in addition to the Shakespearian group, under this head, and claims to have found that 'there are more than twice as many bad quartos' than is generally recognized. In addition to the other marks of a corrupt text he urges that more attention should be given to speeches assigned to the wrong characters, and characters borrowing lines from others.

Alfred Harbage, who has previously furnished lists of Elizabethan and seventeenth-century play manuscripts (see *Y.W.* xvi. 203, xviii. 139), now supplies *A Census of Anglo-Latin Plays* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) both printed and manuscript. The list contains 135 plays, of which the great majority survive only in the 150 manuscripts whose present location is here specified. Harbage includes in addition to Oxford and Cambridge plays the few other Latin dramas written in England and also those written by Englishmen for performance at the continental colleges of Douai and St. Omers. For the latter he is indebted to the play-list supplied by W. H. McCabe (see *Y.W.* xviii. 138-9). McCabe has now supplemented this play-list by *Notes on the St. Omers College Theatre* (*P.Q.* July) in which he gives details about actors and audiences, the place, time and length of performance, costumes and refreshments.

Among the most encyclopaedic of recent American contributions to scholarship is R. R. Cawley's *The Voyagers and*

Elizabethan Drama.¹ It collects into a single volume, with the exceptions noted below, the comprehensive range of statements by voyagers, true or imaginary, found in books written in English or in translations printed up to a fairly early date in the seventeenth century, and sets beside them the passages in Elizabethan plays which appear to be derived from them. And, as if this did not afford him sufficient scope, Cawley even extends his survey to bring in quotations from outside the drama, e.g. from Gosson, Bacon, and Sir Thomas Browne. The book is in consequence so packed and weighted with material that, in spite of the interest of its subject, it is not easy reading. But it is the result of prolonged and painstaking investigation; future editors and commentators should have it readily at hand.

Cawley omits from his volume Europe, except Russia, as not involving a 'voyage'; also Turkey, Persia, and the Moors, on which a work by another hand is forthcoming. He groups his material in four books, each named after one of the points of the compass. Each book is divided into sections. Thus the East includes the 'East Indies', Syria, Arabia, Tartary, and China. In relation to India Cawley points out that a distinction can be made in two types of reference by the dramatists, early or late. The former are vague and general allusions to India as 'the home of gold'. The latter are more specific and seek to localize their references. Due in part to the publications of Hakluyt and Linschoten, there is from about 1600 what Cawley calls 'the growth of a geographic conscience' in the dramatists. But, as he shows, even to the end of the period there was confusion in the minds of dramatists between the East and West Indies.

Every reader of the book will look forward to its sequel which 'will draw inferences and extend conclusions' from the evidence here presented.

The Baroque Character of the Elizabethan Tragic Hero, by Levin L. Schücking,² was delivered as the British Academy

¹ *The Voyagers and Elizabethan Drama*, by Robert Ralston Cawley. Heath and O.U.P. for Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America. pp. xiv + 428. 18s.

² *The Baroque Character of the Elizabethan Tragic Hero*, by Levin L. Schücking. O.U.P. pp. 29. 1s. 6d.

Annual Shakespeare Lecture. Schücking's main aim is to indicate a certain family likeness in Shakespeare's tragic heroes to those of the other dramatists of his time. The common characteristics, which are illustrated from plays of Kyd, Marlowe, Marston, Jonson, and Chapman, are thus summed up:

'First of all there is the striving after heightening the figure of the hero by extraordinary intensification of the emotion, there is secondly a predilection for what in Elizabethan language is termed the "fantastical", . . . and there is thirdly, owing to a partiality for the majestic, an inclination to favour the representation of a certain self-exalting attitude.'

In *The Library* (Sept.) W. W. Greg described *A Fragment from Henslowe's Diary* now in the possession of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir Castle. It is a slip of paper bearing on either side a receipt for payment. The one on the recto, dated 10 January 1599/1600 and signed by Richard Hathaway, Robert Wilson, and Anthony Munday, is for £4 in respect of 'a playe called Owen Tewder'; that on the verso, dated 18 January 1599/1600 and signed by Thomas Dekker, is for 20 shillings 'in earnest of a play called Truethes supplication to Candle-light'. Both receipts are duplicated in Henslowe's accounts, though in one or two details the entries supplement each other. Greg showed that the fragment in all probability was part of a leaf missing from the *Diary*, as indicated by the original foliation. He also pointed out that another fragment of this leaf survives in MS. Add. 30262 (f. 66) in the British Museum, containing acquittances by Chapman, dated 17 July 1599, and by Dekker, dated 1 August the same year. Facsimiles of both fragments were given.

It is imperative for once to ignore the annual limit and to note here the article by Joseph Quincy Adams (*Library*, Sept. 1939) on *Another Fragment from Henslowe's Diary*. This slip of paper is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library. It contains on the recto a receipt by Dekker, dated 18 January 1598/9, for a loan of £3, and on the verso one by Chapman, dated 22 January 1598/9, for £3 in part payment of a comedy, 'The World ronnes vpon Wheelles'. Chapman's signature has been cut out, apparently by an autograph-hunter. His receipt is

duplicated in Henslowe's accounts, but not Dekker's for the loan. Adams shows that there can be little doubt that the Folger fragment, of which facsimiles are given, belonged to the same missing leaf as the two slips described by Greg.

Robert D. Williams, in an article on *Antiquarian Interest in Elizabethan Drama before Lamb* (*P.M.L.A.*, June), disputes the claim that the revived study of the old English dramatists dates from the publication of Lamb's *Specimens* in 1808. He prefers to take as a starting-point the publication of *The British Muse*, a three-volume dramatic anthology by T. Hayward and W. Oldys, based largely on the plays in the library of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford. It was followed in 1744 by R. Dodsley's *Select Collection of Old Plays* and by new editions of Beaumont and Fletcher (1750) and Massinger (1761). In 1764 Baker's *Companion to the Play-House* emphasized the merits of other Tudor and Stuart dramatists, and in 1773 Hawkins published his three-volume *Origins of the English Drama*, followed in 1780 by Reed's new edition of Dodsley. Meanwhile the Shakespearian commentators and editors from Theobald to Malone were at work and were adding largely to the knowledge of early drama. Lamb was therefore not a pioneer but did more than any other to stimulate the popular appreciation of the Elizabethan playwrights.

Another aspect of the selection in the *Specimens* is dealt with by M. P. Tilley (*M.L.N.*, Nov.) in *Charles Lamb, Marston, and Du Bartas*. It is striking that Lamb included only two extracts from *The Malcontent*, twenty-five lines in all, while quoting more extensively from Marston's other plays. Tilley points out that here 'Lamb's sensitiveness to Elizabethan poetry did not fail him', for (unknown to him) the passages from Acts III. ii and IV. v which he chose are modelled, one of them with close verbal parallels, on lines in Sylvester's translation of *Du Bartas*, the first and second weeks.

In passing to publications concerning individual dramatists mention may be first made of a paper on *Medical References in the Dramas of John Lyly* by Alice Willcox in *Annals of Medical History*, x. 2, March (New York). Mrs. Willcox points out that

among Lyly's *dramatis personae* there is only one practitioner of medicine, Motto, the barber-surgeon in *Midas*, who appears in an unflattering light. But Lyly's use of medical terms and his treatment of the humours, especially melancholy, show that his knowledge was extensive. He refers to the use of *aurum potable* in *Midas* as 'golde boyled for a consuming bodie'. But most of the allusions are to the medical properties of herbs, e.g. endive and rocket in *Campaspe*, lunary in *Sapho and Phao* and *Endymion*, pellitory in *Midas*, and tobacco in *The Woman in the Moon*. In one point at any rate Mrs. Willcox suggests that Lyly was ahead of his time, for in a passage in *Endymion* i. iii. 7-9 he casts doubt on the theory that the liver was the seat of love.

R. G. Howarth in a note on *Dipsas* in *Lyly and Marston* (*N. and Q.*, July 9) points out that 'Dipsas, an old Enchantress' figures in *Endymion*, and that an old procuress is saluted by this name in *The Malcontent*, Act II. ii. Howarth traces the origin of the name, as used by Lyly and Marston, to Ovid's *Amores*, i. viii. 2, where it is applied to an old drunken bawd and witch, from the Greek adjective *δυσψάς*.

A. K. McIlwraith includes *The Spanish Tragedy* in the volume noted in a previous chapter.³ In his introduction he pays tribute to the consistency of Kyd's characterization of Hieronimo in the play as first printed. He therefore prints the 'Additions' of the 1602 quarto, which, in his phrase, 'make nonsense' of this, in an appendix. The volume also includes *Arden of Feversham* which, on some similarities of style and vocabulary with *The Spanish Tragedy*, has been attributed by some critics to Kyd. McIlwraith thinks that this is possible. In the view of the present writer Marlowe's authorship is more probable.

Last year's volume of *Y.W.* included a notice (p. 141) of an article in *T.L.S.* by Levin L. Schücking on *The Spanish Tragedy: Additions*. This article has now been much enlarged by Schücking into a German monograph.⁴ He sets forth in greater

³ See above, pp. 113-14.

⁴ *Die Zusätze zur 'Spanish Tragedy'*, by Levin L. Schücking. Leipzig: Hirzel. pp. 82. RM. 3.

detail his main thesis that the 'additions' in the 1602 quarto are really substitutes for passages in the original version, instances not of 'Zusatz' but of 'Ersatz' to satisfy an altered theatrical taste. Whether or not all Schücking's conclusions on this question are accepted, students of *The Spanish Tragedy* are indebted to him for his sensitive interpretation of the additions, especially in their psychological bearing. Schücking ascribes them to one hand, which is, however, not that of Jonson in 1602, nor of any other dramatist for whom they have been claimed.

An exception has, however, to be made of the last addition in Act iv. iv, which is of inferior quality and which is related to the 'mehrfache Schluss' of the play. The text includes two inconsistent endings, the one in which Hieronimo makes his long revealing speech, the other in which he bites out his tongue to maintain silence. Schücking holds that the addition was an interpolation or 'gag' which provided, in a sense, a third version different from either of the above.

In *A Note on 'The Spanish Tragedy'* (*M.L.N.*, Dec.) Fredson T. Bowers argues plausibly that Hieronimo's quotation 'Vindicta mihi' comes not from the Senecan *Octavia* but from Romans xii. 19, 'Mihi vindicta: ego retribuam, dicit Dominus', which is paraphrased by Kyd in the line that follows, 'I, heauen will be reuenged of euery ill'. The Marshal enters 'with God's injunction . . . predominant in his thoughts, and is then seduced by reading in his volume of Seneca to cut himself off from God's protection in seeking his own means of vengeance'.

In *The Source of Simon Eyre's Catch-Phrases* (*M.L.N.*, April), Waldo F. McNeir points out that, though the plot of *The Shoemakers Holiday* is based on Deloney's *Gentle Craft*, yet Eyre's frequently repeated tag 'Prince am I none, yet am I princely born' appears to derive from the line in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* (I. i. 93), 'I am no king, yet am I princely born'.

In the last volume of *Y.W.* (p. 142) mention was made of the publication of *Christopher Marlowe* by John Bakeless in U.S.A. in 1937. The volume has now been issued in England.⁵ It has a

⁵ *Christopher Marlowe*, by John Bakeless. Cape. pp. 357. 10s. 6d.

claim on the attention of all Marlovian students on account of the researches by Bakeless in Canterbury and Cambridge archives. The main results of the former had already been stated by him in *T.L.S.*, 2 Jan. 1937 (see *Y.W.*, loc. cit.). At Corpus Christi College he was the first investigator to find in the Buttery books the record of Marlowe's weekly expenditure while in residence. He has also discovered the indenture between the College authorities and John Parker, the Archbishop's son, concerning the Canterbury scholars. He has further noted the books in the Corpus Christi and University libraries which may have been the actual copies used by Marlowe as sources. In addition to his own researches Bakeless has aimed at embodying in his volume the main results of recent Marlovian scholarship. His biographical chapters are written in animated style with occasional lapses into epigrammatically facetious phrases. A good deal of the Canterbury and Cambridge background, though interesting and well documented, will be more helpful to American than to English readers. The chapter dealing with Marlowe's death contains a well-balanced summary of the conflicting views on the case. On the other hand it is surprising that the name of Richard Baines, the informer, is never mentioned by Bakeless, though one or two extracts from his 'Note' are quoted.

On the critical side Bakeless is at his best in dealing with the lyrical side of Marlowe's genius. His chapter on the dramatist's 'mighty line' interprets lucidly and effectively the prosodic revolution wrought in *Tamburlaine* and *Faustus*. Of these and of *Edward II* Bakeless is generally appreciative. But he dismisses *Dido* much too summarily as 'an unimportant play' and *The Massacre at Paris* as 'painfully dull'. There are many other points, e.g. Marlowe's relation to Shakespeare, on which Bakeless's views might be challenged. But in parting with this notable volume attention should be drawn to the valuable checklist of the known surviving copies of Marlowe's plays and poems with their present location.

In *P.Q.* (Oct.) Paul H. Kocher seeks, as others have also done, to trace *The Development of Marlowe's Character* during the years 'which elapsed between the first draft of his *Dido* and the

composition of the unfinished *Hero and Leander*'. In these words there is the tacit assumption, which is highly questionable, that Marlowe's writings can be arranged in their chronological order. Thus he places *Faustus* immediately after *Tamburlaine* and *The Massacre* after *Edward II*—both doubtful claims upon which to base a subjective interpretation of their author's psychological development. But if his premisses are granted, Kocher's attempt to trace the evolution of the dramatist's character is ingenious and not without a hypothetical value.

In *Marlowe and Spenser* (*T.L.S.*, 1 Jan.) Douglas Bush suggests one or two additions to the well-known borrowings from the *Faerie Queene* by the dramatist. He thinks that the lines in *Dido* where Priam is struck down by the wind of Pyrrhus' sword is an echo from *F.Q.* I. vii. 12, and that the grief of Silvanus for 'the lovely boy' Cyparissus (*Hero and Leander* I. 154-6) was inspired by *F.Q.* I. vi. 17, where the same phrase occurs.

In *Two Notes on Dr. Faustus* (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) M. P. Tilley comments on the use of two proverbial sayings in Q. 1604: 'Ask my fellow if I be a thief' (I. ii. 21) implies the rejection of the evidence of a witness too partial to be trustworthy. 'Theres no haste; but good, are you remembred how you crossed me . . . ?' (IV. ii. 85-6). The punctuation of the quarto obscures the use here of the proverb, 'No haste but good', spoken when a person is unreasonably urged to make haste.

In a note on *A Looking-Glass for London and England*, 'Nutmegs and Ginger' (*M.L.R.*, July) A. E. H. Swaen indicates the ballad to which the clown refers in Act II. iii concerning a pot of ale, with its four parts 'the Ale, the Toast, the Ginger, and the Nutmeg'. The ballad was printed in *Deuteromelia* (1609), and includes the lines

Cinnamon, ginger, nutmegs and cloves,
And that gave me my jolly red nose.

Swaen gives a number of other variants of the refrain. He also quotes a reference by Nashe in *Have with you to Saffron Walden* to 'the Parlement tune of a pot of ale and nutmegs and ginger', which he takes to be the earliest allusion to the tune.

In a paper on '*A Woman Killed with Kindness*' (*P.M.L.A.*, March) Hallett D. Smith sets forth the different views of a number of critics on the problems of Anne Frankford's sudden fall from virtue and her subsequent decline and death. He dissents from T. S. Eliot's statement that the catastrophe of the play is a concession to popular sentiment and urges that it is only rightly understood if set in the tradition of sinning royal mistresses, in especial Jane Shore.

In the same number Donald J. McGinn suggests *A New Date* for '*Antonio's Revenge*'. He rejects the view that Marston from 1599 onwards revived the interest in revenge plays. He emphasizes the parallelism between *Antonio's Revenge* and *Hamlet* and attributes to the influence of the latter the striking differences between Marston's piece and its predecessor *Antonio and Mellida*. On the assumption that *Hamlet* 'had appeared in a more or less complete form by the opening weeks of 1601', McGinn would place *Antonio's Revenge* later in that year.

In *Notes on Chapman's Plays* (*M.L.R.*, April) George G. Loane comments on passages in six tragedies and six comedies. These valuable notes, referring to T. M. Parrott's edition, include textual emendations, parallels, sources, and corrected interpretations. One important example may be given. In a note on *Sir Giles Goosecap Knight*, II. i. 1-16, Parrott refers to 'Chapman's address to M. Harriotts (i.e. George Heriot)'. Loane points out that, of course, Thomas Harriot, the mathematician, is meant.

With the publication of volume vi the Oxford *Ben Jonson*⁶ reaches an important stage in its progress, for it concludes, except for the fragmentary *Sad Shepherd*, the principal section of Jonson's work, the plays. It is therefore specially fitting that the volume should bear on its title-page the name of Evelyn Simpson as a collaborator with her husband.⁷ The plays included

⁶ *Ben Jonson*, ed. by C. H. Herford, Percy and Evelyn Simpson. Vol. vi, O.U.P. pp. xii + 597. 21s.

⁷ For notices of previous volumes see *Y.W.* vi. 157-60; viii. 171-2; xiii. 177-9; xviii. 148-9.

are *Bartholomew Fair*, *The Devil is an Ass*, *The Staple of News*, *The New Inn*, and *The Magnetic Lady*. They have presented a difficult task to the editors who no longer have had as their textual basis the 1616 folio carefully overseen by Ben himself. The first three plays in the volume were printed in 1631 by John Beale for Robert Allot and were afterwards included in the 1640 folio. Jonson stigmatized Beale as 'the Lewd Printer', and the Oxford editors aver that he 'made almost every mistake which a bad and careless printer was capable of making'. Some of the blunders in the earlier pages of *Bartholomew Fair* appear to have been corrected by Jonson, but the very bad misprints in quires L and M were left standing. It is characteristic of the thoroughness of the editors' methods that no less than thirty-four copies of the play were examined, in the vain hope of finding some corrections of these misprints.

The Devil is an Ass presents Beale as a printer in an equally unfavourable light. The editors instance some corrections made by Jonson and the addition by him of some trite marginal notes, which are 'a melancholy sign . . . of failing power'. One correction in v. vii. 2 is badly printed in some copies over an erasure; it is a unique example of Jonson insisting on a correction after the text was printed off. The stock of copies of this play ran short and an edition was printed by Thomas Harper in 1641, which adds further errors to those of Beale.

The Staple of News is an equally faulty text, and the corrections affect only punctuation, spelling, and type. *The New Inn* was published in octavo in 1631. The editors have collated seven copies and give a long list of corrections by Jonson found chiefly in the British Museum and Selden copies. The latter is unique in having a cancel-slip with the name '*Prudence*' pasted over '*Cicelie*' in the scene-heading to i. vi after the sheet had been printed off. When the play was reprinted in the folio of 1692 this failed to reproduce a number of the corrections. *The Magnetic Lady* was first printed in the 1640 folio. Eleven copies have been collated and sixty-one corrections have been traced. The editors, for reasons explained, have marked a new scene in iii. iii.

Among the facsimiles are the trial title-page of *Bartholomew Fair* in Mr. H. L. Ford's copy; the panel compartments used by

Harper as head-pieces in the 1641 folio of *The Devil is an Ass* on A2, and a cancel title-page dated 1669 to this edition of the play in the Welbeck copy. It is pleasant to note the accelerated pace at which this great enterprise is now proceeding and to welcome the promise in the preface of the early appearance of another volume.

Charles F. Wheeler provides a handbook to *Classical Mythology in the Plays, Masques, and Poems of Ben Jonson*.⁸ In his introduction he discusses and illustrates Ben's use of myth in his plays for ornamentation, character portrayal, and in relation to his criticism of life. He also gives an analysis of some of the entertainments and masques with special reference to their classical elements and origins. Among them are *King James's Entertainment*, the *Masque of Lethe*, the *Hue and Cry after Cupid*, and *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*. In the body of the volume, under the heading of 'the Sources', every mythological allusion by Jonson is listed alphabetically, with its references in his works and with an explanation of its significance and an indication of its *provenance* in Greek or Latin literature. While some of this will be superfluous to students with classical knowledge, there are few who will not feel indebted to Wheeler for this carefully compiled work of reference.

C. B. Graham points out *An Echo of Jonson in Aphra Behn's 'Sir Patient Fancy'* (*M.L.N.*, April). The three opening lines of *Volpone* are quoted almost verbatim and dexterously used in a very different situation in Act v. i of Mrs. Behn's play.

Two American publications, *Ben Jonson, Selected Works*, ed. by Harry Levin, and *Ben Jonson: A Concise Bibliography*, by S. A. Tannenbaum, have not been available for further notice.

W. Bailey Kempling, writing in *T.L.S.* (22 Jan.) on *The Faithful Shepherdess*, draws attention to Herbert's entry concerning the performance on 6 January 1633/4, which shows that Inigo Jones adapted for this production the scenery that he had devised for Montague's *The Shepherd's Paradise* in the previous year.

⁸ *Classical Mythology in the Plays, Masques, and Poems of Ben Jonson*, by Charles Francis Wheeler. Princeton Univ. Press for Univ. of Cincinnati and O.U.P. pp. vii+212. 16s.

L. G. Salingar in '*The Revenger's Tragedy*' and the *Morality Tradition* (*Scrutiny*, March) claims that in Tourneur's play 'the Morality influence makes itself felt, under the Senecaism and the literary satire, through the conventions of the Revenge plays themselves . . . most strongly of all'. He illustrates his theme by a comparison of characters and situations in *The Revenger's Tragedy* with those in some of the later Moralities, especially Medwall's *Nature*. Tourneur had been influenced by Jonson who had remodelled the Morality drama. With Jonson and *The Revenger's Tragedy*, the influence of the medieval tradition virtually came to an end.

The volume of seventeenth-century manuscript plays formerly belonging to the Lambarde family is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington. It includes a copy, with a fuller text, of Middleton's play published in quarto in 1661 as *The Mayor of Quinborough* but called at the end of this manuscript, which has no title-page, *Hengist King of Kent*. Another manuscript in the Duke of Portland's library has both titles. R. C. Bald⁹ has edited the play from the Folger Library Lambarde MS. (L) which is superior, though closely parallel, to the Portland MS. (P), which, however, fills some gaps caused by the binder's trimming of the edges of the paper. A number of corrections have also been inserted from the quarto (Q). The two manuscripts contain 175 lines not in Q, which has, however, 25 lines peculiar to itself. The omissions are mainly theatrical cuts, some perhaps due to the Censor, but also include the last 44 lines for which 11 others are substituted in the quarto. In a detailed *apparatus criticus* at the foot of the page Bald gives the variants between L, P, and Q. In his introduction he gives reasons for the belief that the two manuscripts, which are in the same hand, are private transcripts from an annotated prompt-book. Q also was based on a text used in the theatre, with the cuts observed, but is probably of later origin.

Bald dates the play, not, as is usual, in Middleton's early period but between 1616 and 1620, though it may have incorporated

⁹ *Hengist, King of Kent: or The Mayor of Queenborough*, by Thomas Middleton, ed. by R. C. Bald. C. Scribner's Sons for the Trustees of Amherst College. pp. iv+136. 16s.

passages from an older piece, *Vortiger*, first mentioned in Henslowe's Diary in December 1596. But his principal source, apart from the comic underplot, was Holinshed's *Historie of England*, supplemented by Fabyan's *Chronicle*, from both of which Bald quotes the relevant passages in his commentary. In the final section of his introduction he gives a critical estimate of the play, challenging the usual unfavourable verdicts on it by stage-historians and hailing it as 'a product of the same mature power that created *Women Beware Women*, *The Changeling*, and *A Game at Chess*'. Even those students who may not be inclined to accept so favourable a view of the play will welcome this scholarly edition making it for the first time accessible in its earlier and more complete form.

In a note on *Women Beware Women* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) Percy Simpson suggests three textual emendations in I. ii, II. i, and III. i, which are more satisfactory than the readings adopted by Dyce and Bullen.

Mildred G. Christian in *An Autobiographical Note by Thomas Middleton* (*N. and Q.*, Oct. 8), with reference to the proof by Mark Eccles that the dramatist was a member of Queen's College, Oxford (see *Y.W.* xii. 182), draws attention to an unnoticed revealing passage in his pageant, *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity*, where he alludes to the foundation of this College 'to the continuing estate of which I myself wish all happiness'.

William L. Halstead, in *N. and Q.* (Nov. 26), maintains that Dekker's '*Phaethon*', a lost play, mentioned by Henslowe in his Diary on 15 January 1597/8, was not revised by Ford in *The Sun's Darling*. Halstead shows from passages in *Fortunatus* that Dekker was familiar with the story of Phaeton as recounted in Golding's translation of the *Metamorphoses*, and he infers that any play by him on this subject 'must have in some respects conformed to the conventional version'. There is no resemblance to this in the character or actions of Raybright, the hero of *The Sun's Darling*, and the theory of any relation between it and Dekker's lost play has no basis.

When Bullen printed in his 'Old English Plays', vol. iii (1884),

the piece without a title in MS. Egerton 1994, ff. 119–35, he called it *The Distracted Emperor* and stated his impression that ‘Chapman had the chief hand in it’. When it was re-edited in 1920 by F. L. Schoell (see *Y.W.* ii. 93–4) he gave it the title of *Charlemagne* and elaborated the claim for Chapman’s authorship. This is disputed by the editors of the Malone reprint of the play,¹⁰ who point out that the manuscript is not in Chapman’s hand and that he could not have written so crude a piece in 1604 or later. The hand of Sir George Buc, who from 1603 acted as deputy Master of the Revels, is found in an alteration at l. 1420. There are a number of marginal notes and marks for omission by the stage reviser, besides two marginal notes, each apparently in a different hand. The manuscript itself, in ‘a small cramped hand of a literary type’, here facsimiled in eight plates, is judged by the Malone editors to be autograph, and the play to be most likely ‘the work of an amateur—influenced, possibly, by the work of Chapman’.

Another play of doubtful authorship is discussed by Marc Friedlaender in *Some Problems of ‘A Yorkshire Tragedy’* (*S. in Ph.*, April). The play was ascribed to Shakespeare by Pavier both when he entered it in the Stationers’ Register and when he published it in quarto in 1608, but it was excluded from the 1623 Folio and internal evidence is against the attribution. Friedlaender, after considering the relation of the play to *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, emphasizes the difference between the first scene of *The Yorkshire Tragedy* and those that follow. Unlike them it is not based on the prose tract which is the source of the play and it alone gives personal names to some of the characters. Among these is the messenger Sam, who brings news from London and makes it clear that the tragic events that follow in the later scenes are to take place there. But as Friedlaender acutely points out, all editors of the play, knowing that it dealt with a murder at Calverley Hall, Yorkshire, have inserted stage-directions to that effect. But the object of this scene was to disassociate the crime from Yorkshire and to avoid giving offence to the highly placed relations of

¹⁰ *Charlemagne or the Distracted Emperor*, ed. J. H. Walker and W. W. Greg. Malone Society Reprints. pp. xi+102.

Calverley and his wife. The scene may well have been added in a revision, and in it alone the style would not be decisive against Shakespeare's authorship.

In 1931, in *N. and Q.*, Madeline Hope Dodds gave an account of some of the plays and epigrams of William Percy, followed in 1933 by a detailed description in *J.E.G.P.* of his play, *A Dreame of a Drye Yeare* (see *Y.W.* xii. 179 and xiv. 210-11). A fuller account of the man and his writings is now supplied by Harold N. Hillebrand in *William Percy: An Elizabethan Amateur* (*H.L.Q.*, July). Born in 1575, third son of Henry, eighth Earl of Northumberland, he spent his earlier life in Paris and at Gloucester Hall, Oxford. A sojourn in London from about 1595 included a period of imprisonment in the Fleet, probably for debt, and in the Tower on a charge of homicide, probably after a duel in 1596 with Henry Denny, of which he was acquitted. In 1601 he suddenly turned dramatist, and Hillebrand suggests that he was being employed by his brother, the ninth Earl, 'as a kind of dramatic master of ceremonies for the family', during a period of royal favour terminated by the Earl's imprisonment after the Gunpowder Plot. Thereafter he appears to have returned to Oxford and remained there till his death in 1648.

Hillebrand describes the three extant manuscripts of the plays all in Percy's hand with marginal and other emendations. Of the two at Alnwick, one, dated 1644, lacks two of the plays and the last scenes of another, and also the epigrams. The other, dated 1646, includes the six plays and the epigrams and is practically identical with the manuscript, now in the Huntington Library, dated 1647. As all three manuscripts give the same dates for the plays contained in them Hillebrand concludes that these are the actual dates of their composition, 1601-3, except for the belated *Necromantes*, 1632. He is of opinion, like Miss Dodds, that they were written for private performance, on behalf of the Percy family, either by amateurs or by professional actors specially hired. The multiple stage for which they were designed was no longer to be found in the professional theatres. Percy made alterations intended to fit them for performance by the children of Paul's, but there is no evidence that they were

acted by them. Hillebrand ends his article by a summary of two of the plays, *A Forrest Tragedye* and *Necromantes*, which were not printed by Haslewood in 1824 or discussed by Miss Dodds in her articles.

Alfred Harbage discusses *The Authorship of the Dramatic 'Arcadia'* (*Mod. Phil.*, Feb.), which was published by Francis Eglesfield in 1640 with James Shirley's name on the title-page. Harbage holds that this was a false attribution made by an unscrupulous publisher while Shirley was in Dublin or had very recently returned. He points out that the play is not included in the catalogue of 'the Authors Poems already Printed' appended to *The Cardinal* (1652), nor is it among Shirley's plays licensed by Herbert. Nor does it resemble in style and technique Shirley's characteristics as a dramatist. Harbage suggests, though not confidently, other possible names for the authorship of the play.

Julius Krzyzanowski points out in *T.L.S.*, April 9, the hitherto unrecognized *Source of Sucklings 'Brennoralt'* in *Iphigène* by P. Camus (c.1625), a 'dull and nonsensical French novel'.

Chester L. Shaver, in *M.L.N.* (Feb.), raises again the question of *The Date of 'Revenge for Honour'*. He dissents from the arguments of F. T. Bowers in favour of 1619-20 (see *Y.W.* xviii. 155). He holds that some of the names in the play were taken either from R. Ashley's *Almansor* (1627) or from *The Life and Death of Mahomet* (1637). The allusion to the abolition of monopolies fits in better with Parliament's abolition of them in 1640 than with James I's proclamation against them in 1621. If Glapthorne, as is now usually held, wrote the play, 1619 is an impossible date, as he was then nine years old. Shaver places it some time between 1627 and 1641. His views are thus in accord with those of J. H. Walker (see *Y.W.* xviii. 155-6), though he does not allude to his article.

In the last volume of *Y.W.* (p. 150) there was a notice of an article by F. T. Bowers including references to *The ffary Knight*, a manuscript play by Randolph in the Folger library. In further relation to this play Bowers now discusses (*H.L.B.*, Jan.) *Problems*

in Thomas Randolph's '*Drinking Academy*' and its Manuscript. Bowers dates *The ffary Knight* 1623 or 1624, and argues that *The Drinking Academy* cannot probably be earlier than 1626, as it shows the influence of Shirley's *Love Tricks* and Jonson's *Staple of News*. He would place its writing and production in this or the following year.

Bowers brings evidence to show that the manuscript of *The ffary Knight* and that of *The Drinking Academy*, which is now in the Huntington Library, once formed part of a single volume. They are in the same hand, on the same paper, and are similarly notched for binding. They are both written in a blackish ink, which is also used for two groups of corrections. At a third and fourth stage a light brown and a dark brown ink were used for later corrections, of which Bowers gives a list. The scribe was not Randolph himself but 'probably a person who made a transcript from a Randolph manuscript with augmentations and changes of his own'. The date of the manuscript is, for reasons given, later than 1637 and probably about mid-century.

G. F. Sensabaugh discusses with detailed illustration *Love Ethics in Platonic Court Drama, 1625-1642* (*H.L.Q.*, April). The Platonic love cult was introduced by Queen Henrietta Maria and its tenets were largely derived from D'Urfé's *Astrée*. They are expounded by Lovel in Jonson's *The New Inn*:

Love is a spiritual coupling of two souls.

The end of love, is to have two made one
In will, and in affection, that the minds
Be first inoculated, not the bodies.

James Howell in 1634 describes Platonic Love as holding sway at Court, 'a love abstracted from all corporeal gross Impressions and Appetite' consisting in 'Contemplations and Ideas of the Mind'. There was to be a Mask of it shortly in which the Queen and her Maids of Honour were to appear—probably D'Avenant's *The Temple of Love*. One of the tenets of the cult was that beauty and goodness are one; if a woman be fair she must be pure. Hence beautiful women become goddesses to be worshipped. In the words of Tyndarus in Randolph's *The Jealous Lovers*,

'Tis Atheism to suspect
A devil lodg'd in such divinity.

'From this worship arose an ethereal love of souls, divine in its essence.' But this tenet lent itself to the perversion that this type of love was superior to marriage. Hence it could be argued that marriage was needless or that it even cheapened a woman's value.

The different aspects of Platonic love are illustrated by full quotations from the Caroline dramatists, and Sensabaugh suggests that Prynne may well have had this type of Court drama particularly in mind in his attack on lewd plays.

IX

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD: POETRY AND PROSE

(1) *The Later Tudor Period*

By A. K. McILWRAITH

THERE are fewer new editions to be recorded in this section this year than usual, but there are a number of studies of outstanding merit, both in books and in articles.

In every respect it is fitting that the record should begin with David Mathew's study of *The Jacobean Age*.¹ The historian may perhaps find that for him the chief value of the work lies in the use which the author has been able to make of uncalendared Salisbury MSS. at Hatfield House for the years from 1606 onward, but the literary student will welcome it as a careful and balanced account of the society of new and old families and individuals of the governing class in their public and private lives. To the underlying social forces of religion and economics, the latter as yet half mute and barely realized, full recognition is given as they make themselves felt in the fortunes and policies of those in power, but the part played by personalities is not allowed to undergo eclipse. There is special interest, for example, in Mathew's treatment of the King himself and of men like Bacon and Raleigh who moved in both worlds of literature and politics and to whom we are sometimes tempted to accord undue sympathy on the irrelevant ground that they wrote books.

Other works may offer a fuller and more detailed chronicle of the facts and dates of the political background to literature, but for an interpretation of the facts and an analysis of the mind and spirit of the men who did important things we cannot do better than turn to *The Jacobean Age*.

Two shorter works may be read in close connexion with this. The essay on *King James the First of England as Poet and Political Writer* which C. J. Sisson contributes to *Seventeenth*

¹ *The Jacobean Age*, by David Mathew. Longmans. pp. 354. 15s.

*Century Studies presented to Sir Herbert Grierson*² begins with a protest against the common underestimate of the King's mind and character, and argues in favour of a higher judgement much more like that which Mathew forms. Sisson's argument, however, rests not on the King's activities but on his writings, and particularly his political writings, which are even less familiar to-day than his poems or his tracts on witchcraft and tobacco.

Of an earlier period, but none the less helpful in forming a conception of the background of literature, is the pamphlet on *The Execution of Justice in England* published by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, in 1583, to prove that the Government's policy was to accuse certain Roman Catholics as 'stirrers of sedition, and adherents to the traytors and enemies of the Realme, without any persecution of them for questions of Religion'. This is a theme with which Mathew too deals. The pamphlet has now been reproduced in facsimile with an introduction by F. L. Baumer,³ and is properly noticed this year; a lament that it was not available two years ago (see *Y.W.* xvii. 177) was premature.

The impression made upon the metaphysical poets and others by the progress of astronomical science in their day has long been recognized in principle, and recent research has emphasized the importance of the contribution made by Thomas Harriot to the thought of Raleigh, Marlowe, and their circle, but there has hitherto been no compendious and authoritative treatment of the advances and rival theories produced by mathematical calculation and by closer observation with more accurate instruments, nor of their dissemination at different dates and by several means through the English public at varying intellectual levels. The advance and spread of this knowledge in Elizabethan England is the subject of Francis R. Johnson's study of *Astronomical Thought*.⁴

² *Seventeenth Century Studies presented to Sir Herbert Grierson*. O.U.P. pp. xv+415. 21s. See further below, pp. 166-7 and 189.

³ *The Execution of Justice in England (1583)*, by William Cecil (Lord Burghley), with an intro. by Franklin L. Baumer. New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, pp. xiii+[40]. \$1.50.

⁴ *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study of the English Scientific Writings from 1500 to 1645*, by Francis R. Johnson. Johns Hopkins Press and O.U.P. 1937. pp. xvi+357. 15s.

After a preliminary survey of the cosmological systems of antiquity he traces from the time of Robert Recorde (†1558) to about 1645 the activities and publications of the Englishmen who took the lead in independent research and in making available to the less learned of their countrymen the discoveries of Copernicus and of Kepler. After the pioneers, the most outstanding figure is that of Thomas Digges, whose *Alae seu Scalae Mathematicae* (1573) contained the best published observations other than those of Tycho Brahe himself of the nova in Cassiopeia which appeared in November 1572. This established his European reputation as a supporter of the Copernican theory, and his English works, beginning with an appendix to later editions of the *Prognostication* of his father Leonard, ensured the recognition of his worth at home. It is possible that as early as 1579 Digges used 'a combination of lenses and mirrors corresponding to our modern telescope', and it is certain that by 1609 'Thomas Harriot and his friends and pupils were using telescopes for astronomical observations prior to Galileo'.

Johnson, whose work rests on the solid foundation of 'A Chronological List of Books dealing with Astronomy printed in England to 1640' which fills thirty-five pages, has relatively little to say of Harriot's unpublished writings, but although his work is cast in the formal mould of a history of science, he has constantly in mind those literary repercussions alluded to at the beginning of this notice. The result is neither to increase nor to decrease substantially our general impression of the significance of astronomical thought, but in part to redistribute the emphasis and above all to clarify and organize in order of time and of importance achievements of which our ideas have often been vague and confused.

Its affinities with Johnson's work may perhaps excuse a brief mention of Grant McColley's translation of *The Defense of Galileo of Thomas Campanella*, which is noticed more fully below.⁵ This was 'composed by Campanella in a Neapolitan dungeon during the year 1616, and was published at Frankfort in 1622'. In his introduction McColley appropriately devotes space to the religious aspects of the controversy aroused by the

⁵ See pp. 171-2.

heliocentric theory. His translation is readable and his notes brief but adequate.

The Shakespeare Association has issued one facsimile for the session 1937-8, a substantial volume containing Richard Surphlet's translation (1599) of *A Discourse of the Preservation of Sight* and three other treatises by M. Andreas Laurentinus or Du Laurens,⁶ originally published in French in one volume of which the earliest extant edition appeared at Paris in 1597. In a valuable introduction Sanford V. Larkey insists on the importance of an understanding of the theory of humours for the comprehension of Elizabethan literature and expounds the theory with illustrations drawn from these discourses of a practising physician. No one will dispute their value as a means of acquiring familiarity with the ways of physiological thought current in Elizabethan times, and Surphlet's is a readable translation from which the editor can quote at least one passage which many readers might be tempted to ascribe to Sir Thomas Browne. In contrast with astronomical thought of the same time these medical works require more careful study by virtue of the very fact that they are expressed in terms of a totally obsolete theory which reached a complete dead end. Where the mathematics of Digges, the observations of Harriot, and the magnetic theories of Gilbert look forward to Newton and Einstein, the physiologists rest content with the basic assumptions of Greece and the Arabs, and use their clinical observations only to correct Aristotle on points of detail. Indeed, the editor can complain that 'Because of his [Du Laurens's] theories as to cause it is often difficult to tell what a certain condition was in relation to modern concepts', a difficulty familiar to biographers of Milton.

Among works dealing more strictly with literary matters the most comprehensive is *The English Renaissance* by V. de Sola Pinto, which has been noticed above,⁷ and which in parts of its

⁶ *A Discourse of the Preservation of Sight: of Melancholike Diseases; of Rheumes, and of Old Age*, by M. Andreas Laurentinus, trans. by Richard Surphlet, 1599, ed. by Sanford V. Larkey. O.U.P. pp. xxv + [xvi] + 194. 21s.

⁷ See Chapter VI, p. 102.

later chapters and bibliographical sections relates to the period covered by this section of *Y.W.*

A common theme of Elizabethan literature is studied by Don Cameron Allen (*S. in Ph.*, April) in a paper on *The Degeneration of Man and Renaissance Pessimism*. This too extends beyond the scope of this section, embracing continental as well as English writers, but Allen's centre of interest is perhaps Spenser, and second to him an inner circle of Elizabethans from Gascoigne, who still reveals in *The Droomme of Doomes day* (1576) the medieval view of the world as an evil place to be traversed on the way to an assured heaven, to Robert Ashley's translation in 1594 of Loys le Roy's *De la vicissitude ou varieté de choses en l'univers*; 'this work—one of the first in the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns—must have come like a cool wind toward the twilight of an August day', with its assertion of progress and denial of universal degeneration. Your true pessimist is a man with neither Gascoigne's faith in another life nor Le Roy's in this.

At this point Allen's theme is taken up by Kathrine Koller (*ibid.*), whose *Two Elizabethan Expressions of the Idea of Mutability* are those in Ashley's translation of Le Roy and in John Norden's English poem called *Vicissitudo Rerum* (1600). She observes that Norden versifies over half the first book of Ashley, but that his choice of material reveals the popular taste, for he reproduces the gloomy observations of mutability in the universe but not the inspiring conclusion which the French philosopher had drawn from them.

On more technical aspects of literature, Lily B. Campbell's study of *The Use of Historical Patterns in the Reign of Elizabeth* (*H.L.Q.*, Jan.) deals chiefly with alleged 'topical references' in the dramatists, but her argument is supported by the citation of non-dramatic works and her conclusions are a salutary warning to all scholars. She seeks to show that 'Their political thinking was habitually done in historical patterns', and that it is therefore equally fallacious to identify fictitious (or historical) figures with contemporaries or to deny the application of dramatic or literary 'morals' to actual persons. The dis-

tion between identity and resemblance was clear and should be kept clear.

Celestine Turner Wright contributes to *S. in Ph.* (April) a paper entitled *The Usurer's Sin in Elizabethan Literature* in which she returns to a theme which has already engaged her attention (see *Y.W.* xv. 208). She here collects nearly two hundred references to usurers and seeks to define the most frequent grounds of complaint against them. She rightly observes that 'usury then included what we call legitimate interest', but does not distinguish the part from the whole in her anatomy of complaints.

In so far as they may be claimed for literature rather than philology, Otto Funke's two discussions of Elizabethan grammars may perhaps be best treated in these introductory paragraphs. To *Anglia* (Heft 1/4) he contributes a study of *William Bullokar's 'Bref Grammar for English' (1586)*, 'die erste englische und zugleich englisch geschriebene Grammatik', in which he expounds Bullokar's treatment of his subject and shows his indebtedness to the revised edition (1566) of Lily's *Latin Grammar*.

The second English grammar was the little *Grammatica Anglicana praecipue quatenus a Latina differt, ad unicam P. Rami methodum concinnata* which was published at Cambridge in 1594 and has been ascribed, following Ames, to Paul Graves or Greaves. This has been reprinted by Funke,⁸ who feels doubtful of the ascription and prefers to cling to the safety of 'P. Gr.'. The value of the book is chiefly linguistic, but the illustrative quotations are of more general interest. They do not necessarily suggest that P. Gr. was widely read in English poetry, since he could only illustrate the use of a singular verb with a collective subject by quoting from Gascoigne some lines in which it was necessary for him to change the verb from subjunctive to indicative in order to avoid the appearance of controverting himself.

The preponderance of interest in poetry over interest in prose has been less marked this year than usual, but there are two

⁸ *Grammatica Anglicana, von P. Gr. (1594)*, ed. by Otto Funke. Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, vol. 60. Vienna: Braumüller. pp. li + 39. RM. 7.

useful works on poetry in general to be noticed, though one of them actually appeared in 1936 when it was not available (see *Y.W.* xvii. 177). This is Alberto Castelli's study of *La Gerusalemme Liberata nella Inghilterra di Spenser*,⁹ of which the theme is (not without advantage) slightly narrower than the title might suggest. In his substantive chapters Castelli examines the treatment accorded to Tasso's poem by Elizabethan poets, translators, and critics, but the poets with whom he deals are in principle the epic poets (the exception being William Browne in *Britannia's Pastorals*), excluding the sonneteers whose Italian affiliations have been so much discussed. He describes, with some correction and amplification of previous writers, the nature and extent of Spenser's indebtedness in *The Faerie Queene*, which was fundamental in the first two books and incidental in the rest. Among Spenser's followers he finds evidence of direct acquaintance with *La Gerusalemme Liberata* in Daniel's *Civil Wars* (more in the first edition than in the revision) and in the work of Phineas Fletcher, but even on them most of Tasso's influence was exerted through Spenser, and on Drayton and Giles Fletcher he finds it to have been almost wholly indirect. The Italian texts used for their translations by Richard Carew and Edward Faifax are carefully considered and the translations compared. The work concludes with a glance at some Elizabethan expressions of critical opinion. In a short and orderly book the lack of an index of names is not seriously felt, but a conspectus of passages cited from *La Gerusalemme Liberata* would have been a useful addition.

The sonneteers whom Castelli rejects are chosen by Lisle C. John for the theme of *The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences*,¹⁰ but since most substantial studies of them have concentrated primarily on either their metrical characteristics or their foreign sources John has sought a fresh approach in the conventional conceits used in the expression of recurring concepts and attitudes. A distinction is drawn, for example, between borrowings

⁹ *La Gerusalemme Liberata nella Inghilterra di Spenser*, by Alberto Castelli. Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1936. pp. xii+130. Lire 10.

¹⁰ *The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences: Studies in Conventional Conceits*, by Lisle Cecil John. Columbia Studies in English and Comparative Literature, no. 133. Columbia U.P. and O.U.P. pp. x+278. 14s.

via Petrarch of the Latin conception of Love as 'a stern, vindictive little tyrant' and the conception of him derived by way of France from the Greek Anthology as 'a tiny, insouciant, Puckish child', and there are similar analyses of the ways of treating the effect of love upon the poet's mental and physical state and the description of his lady's beauty. Perhaps the admittedly arbitrary framework on which John's work is built does not make a very great contribution to its value, but it serves to hold together the many penetrating and illuminating comments which he has to make. This is in effect an eminently sensible and sympathetic account of the Elizabethan sonneteers, with the extra merit of posing problems yet to be solved and leaving them without prejudice as open questions.

George G. Loane (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 15) calls attention to a number of Elizabethan instances of the neglect of *Final 's' in Rhyme*, quoting in particular from Hall and Chapman, and in *A Century of Lyrics* D. C. Whimster¹¹ has collected a hundred short poems, most of them well known, written between 1550 and 1650, with brief explanatory notes and some sensible suggestions for elementary critical exercises.

In giving an account of the work devoted to individual poets or poems it will be convenient to begin with Spenser and then to take his contemporaries and followers in roughly chronological order.

There are only two biographical studies to record. In a note on *Edmund Spenser's Family* (*H.L.Q.*, Oct.) Ray Heffner reminds those whose attention has been distracted by Grosart's Lancastrian zeal of the poet's clear and close connexion with the Northants family, and suggests that he may have contributed to the research which must underlie a genealogy of 1595, here reproduced in facsimile from a Huntington Library manuscript.

Four State papers which he has newly recognized as being in Spenser's hand, together with others which had previously been identified, furnish grounds for a study by Raymond Jenkins (*P.M.L.A.*, June) of *Spenser: the Uncertain Years 1584-1589*. Jenkins makes the assumption, occasionally corroborated by

¹¹ *A Century of Lyrics, 1550-1650*, ed. by D. C. Whimster. Arnold. pp. 127. 2s. 6d.

these letters, that while Spenser was clerk of the Council of Munster he was in constant attendance on the President, Sir John Norris, or in his absence on the Vice-President Sir Thomas Norris, and infers the poet's movements and activities from the records of those of the brothers.

W. L. Renwick's rejection from Spenser's *Astrophel* of the Lay of Clorinda has led Herbert David Rix (*M.L.N.*, April) to examine the relations between *Spenser's Rhetoric* and the '*Doleful Lay*'. Rix holds that the *Lay* is a necessary part of the elegy as Spenser conceived it and that it contains typical examples of his style.

There have been several small contributions and one of first-rate importance to the study of *The Faerie Queene*. In I. v. 50 no earlier account has hitherto been found of the means of suicide employed by *Spenser's Sthenoboea*, which is referred by Don Cameron Allen (*M.L.N.*, Feb.) to the *Epitheta* of Ravisius Textor. Allen adduces this not necessarily as Spenser's source but as evidence that the idea was not original.

Accepted interpretations of Book IV do not satisfy Jefferson B. Fletcher (*S. in Ph.*, April), who subjects to damaging criticism the attempts which have been made to explain '*The Legend of Cambel and Triamond*' in the '*Faerie Queene*'. He urges the importance of the Lady Concord who protected and aided Scudamour in canto X.

Ivan L. Schulze (*E.L.H.*, Dec.) finds a number of *Reflections of Elizabethan Tournaments* in '*The Faerie Queene*', *Bk. iv. 4* and *Bk. v. 3*, two passages which give fairly extensive descriptions of tournaments, both of them connected with Florimel, and seeks to show that the formal conventions of chivalry were observed in fact at Elizabeth's court.

After a longer interval than usual Johns Hopkins has published the sixth volume of its great Variorum Edition of Spenser, including the sixth and the fragmentary seventh books of *The Faerie Queene*, thus presumably covering about half its course. The panel of general editors remains as it was in 1936 (see *Y.W.*

xvii. 167), but the present volume is the work of many hands.¹² The special problems raised by Book VII, the 'Two Cantos of Mutabilitie', have provoked an exceptional volume of critical discussion for the editors to quote, and the appendices to these two cantos fill almost the same number of pages as those to the twelve cantos of Book VI. There is in addition a twenty-page appendix devoted to the punctuation of *The Faerie Queene* in the authoritative texts which no student of Elizabethan punctuation at large can safely ignore. The volumes of this edition have been noticed individually year by year, and it is scarcely necessary to take the opportunity afforded by the completion of *The Faerie Queene* for an excursus on its merits. Its printing and production are no less a credit to the Johns Hopkins Press than are its design and execution to the general and special editors. It fulfils admirably the chief function of such an edition by being judiciously representative without unduly suppressing the individual judgement of the scholar responsible for the volume. It makes conveniently accessible masses of material which would require hours of search in any library and could not be found in all. And not the least of its merits is that it proves as serviceable in use as it appears on inspection.

These notes on Spenserian studies may close with references to two comments on his posthumous reputation. G. F. Sensbaugh (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 29) has found *A Spenser Allusion* not previously recognized in *Maria Triumphans* (1635); and in *R.E.S.* (Jan.) C. Bowie Millican writes of *Ralph Knevet*, *Author of the 'Supplement' to Spenser's 'Faerie Queene'*. The Cambridge MS. of '*A Supplement of the Faery Queene* ("finished . . . 1635")' has been tentatively attributed to Robert Jigon, but Millican shows that only the commendatory verses are his, and claims that since the hand of the manuscript appears from internal evidence to be that of the author and from external evidence to be that of Ralph Knevet (1602-72), the author must be Knevet.

¹² *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. by Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood, Frederick Morgan Padelford, Ray Heffner. *The Faerie Queene, Books Six and Seven*, ed. by the General Editors, James G. McManaway, Dorothy E. Mason, Brents Stirling. Johns Hopkins Press and O.U.P. pp. xii + 506. 27s. (not sold separately).

Millican's promised edition of the manuscript will doubtless enable the reader to form his own opinion as to the writing; the present article is chiefly concerned with Knevett's life and writings.

In a sternly practical study of *Sir Philip Sidney and the Matchmakers* Denver Ewing Baughan (*M.L.R.*, Oct.) deprecates recent attempts to find a literal interpretation of the sonnets as autobiography, and examines the prose evidence for Sidney's relations with four women: Anne Cecil, with whose family negotiations for a marriage were in progress in 1569 and 1570, Penelope Devereux, who may have been Stella but need not therefore have been beloved, a sister of the Prince of Orange proposed by Languet in 1577, and Frances Walsingham whom Sidney married in 1583, when neither party was much of a catch. It is a wholesome and well-documented recall to reason.

From MS. Harley 7392 Bernard M. Wagner (*P.M.L.A.*, March) prints two *New Poems by Sir Philip Sidney*, together with one which had previously appeared, though anonymously, in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593). He discusses the occasions of the poems and gives particulars of the compiler of this sixteenth-century commonplace book, St. Loe Kniveton.

Sidney at Bartholomew Fair is the title given by Sara Ruth Watson to a paper contributed to *P.M.L.A.* (March) in which she shows that the trick by which first Philoclea and then Pamela in the revised *Arcadia* are led to believe that they have seen one another beheaded was in fact one which 'was donne by one Kingsfield of London, at a Bartholomew tide, An. 1582' as reported in Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584). She recognizes the possibility that Sidney was indebted to Scot, but thinks it more likely that he actually saw the trick performed.

Kathleen Tillotson (*M.L.N.*, April) supplements D. C. Allen's study of the sources of *Drayton's 'Noah's Flood'* (for which see *Y.W.* xviii. 167-8) by citing later and less recondite works which the poet is more likely to have used, thus endorsing and amplifying what had been Allen's primary contention, that Drayton was profiting by common knowledge and not from the result of any learned research of his own. The same writer (*R.E.S.*, April)

finds *The Source of 'An excellent new ballad, shewing the petigree of . . . King Iames'* in Drayton's poem *To the Maiestie of King Iames*. Meanwhile Don Cameron Allen has contributed to *M.L.N.* (Feb.) a study of *Drayton's Lapidaries* in which he shows that all the lapidary lore of the Ninth Nymphall of *The Muses Elizium* was probably derived from Boodt's *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia*, except the properties of the Sardonyx, which may have come from the *Lapidaire en françoys* of the pseudo-Mandeville.

As a pendant to an earlier discussion of '*Raymundus*' and *Ralegh* (see *Y.W.* xvi. 241) Arnold Davenport (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 1) urges that Hall does not refer to an adventurer, Ralegh or anyone else, but to the alchemist Raymond Lully, and he shows how well this simple interpretation fits the context.

Dorothy Pym (*N. and Q.*, March 19) advances *A Theory on the Identification of Cyril Tournour's 'Mavortio'*, namely, that the person concealed under this name in *The Transformed Metamorphosis* is not a great commander but a great poet, Spenser.

The challenging personality of Sir Walter Ralegh has evoked several special studies in addition to the space which is devoted to him in general surveys. The story of *Raleigh, Frobisher and the Great Carack of Spain* is told by J. Milton French (*N. and Q.*, May 7), who prints the Bill and Answer in a Chancery suit brought a quarter of a century later to protest against Ralegh's failure to disburse Frobisher's share of the spoils, and information concerning *Ralegh's Last Voyage* is gathered by C. L'Estrange Ewen in an article under that heading in *N. and Q.* (April 9) and more fully in two related pamphlets.¹³ In these he gives a summary with frequent quotations of depositions in the High Court of Admiralty concerning the voyage of 1617, and throws the blame for failure, as others have done before, on Ralegh's superiors and subordinates. It is not for the layman to judge of right and wrong by customary international law in any age, but documentary evidence is very welcome, especially when it is as vivid as this.

¹³ *Ralegh's Last Adventure*, by C. L'Estrange Ewen. Printed for the author, 103 Gower Street, W.C. 1. pp. 16. 1s.

Sir Walter Ralegh's Interpretation of the Lex Mercatoria, *ibid.*, pp. 7. 6d.

Sir Walter Raleigh as Poet and Philosopher is the subject of a lecture by C. F. Tucker Brooke printed in *E.L.H.* (June). In his verse Tucker Brooke sees the forces of Elizabethan romanticism 'not fused, but in divergence', and therefore easier to analyse than in the poetry of Sidney, Spenser, or Marlowe; but it is Raleigh's prose that best reveals the breadth and depth of his genius.

George G. Loane prints in *N. and Q.* notes on the non-dramatic work of George Chapman. Writing of *Chapman and Hierocles* (Feb. 12) he calls attention to an unrecognized translation in Chapman's *Hymn to Christ upon the Cross*, and later he continues his list of *Misprints in Chapman's Homer* (for which see *Y.W.* xvii. 172), giving addenda to his observations on the *Odyssey* (May 21) and on the *Iliad* (Nov. 5).

To *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.* (vol. xx) Franklin B. Williams, Jr., contributes to an article on *The Epigrams of Henry Parrot*, whom he recently defended against the charge of plagiarism (see *Y.W.* xviii. 168). This is a biographical study of the author with an appraisal of his work and bibliographical notes on the five volumes which he published between 1606 and 1626. Williams finds internal evidence for suggesting that Parrot was 'an upper-clerk in, or a legal clerk having dealings with, the Court of Exchequer', and observes that he was one of the most prolific Elizabethan epigrammatists and not one of the worst.

The *Two Spenserian Imitations*, by 'T.W.' of which Frederick Hard writes (*E.L.H.*, June) are *The Lamentations of Melpomene* (1603) and *The Optick Glasse of Humors* (1607). The latter is generally, and in Hard's opinion rightly, ascribed to Thomas Walkington, and he suggests that the earlier poem is from the same hand.

In *H.L.Q.* (July) Ernest A. Strathmann describes the three extant poems of *A Scotch Spenserian: Patrick Gordon*, which were published in 1614 and 1615, and seeks to illustrate from them the intimate indebtedness of Scottish verse to that of contemporary England.

The increased attention paid to Elizabethan prose works this year has been mentioned above. Most of it has been devoted to particular writers or books, but a more general topic is treated in the paper on *The Immediate Source of Euphuism* which William Ringler contributes to *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.). According to Ringler the immediate source is to be found in the Latin lectures on Greek authors delivered at Oxford by John Rainolds between 1572 and 1578. The objection to the English models which have been suggested for Lyly's style is that none of them combine as he did the use of schematic structure and learned ornament, whereas this combination makes its appearance simultaneously in the prose of other Oxford men of his generation, like Gosson and Lodge. The same combination is clearly present in the Latin orations of Rainolds, which these young men would hear, might admire, and could imitate before their appearance in print.

The same writer (*M.L.N.*, Jan.) finds *An Early Reference to Longinus* in Rainolds's *Orationes Duodecim*. The earliest English treatment of 'Longinus' previously known has been Langbaine's Oxford edition of 1636, and Rainolds's oration, printed in 1619, was delivered in 1573/4.

Frances A. Yates writes in the *Journal of the Warburg Institute* (1937-8) on *Italian Teachers in Elizabethan England*, stressing their importance and the extent of their influence. She devotes special attention to John Florio, and argues that his use of Guevara as a source for illustrative translations in his *First Fruits* (1578) supports the belief in Guevara as one of the influences on the Euphuistic style.

There is both entertainment and profit in F. P. Wilson's description of *Some English Mock-Prognostications* in *The Library* (June). Mockery of astrology took many forms, but Wilson is chiefly concerned with parodies of the prognostications which were appended to almanacs; his earliest English example, of 1544, is incomplete, though it may be restored in part from one of 1623, but he describes three published in 1591 and others of later years. A conclusion which Wilson reaches in passing is further examined and confirmed by Hugh R. Dick

in a note on *The Authorship of 'Foure Great Lyers'* (1585) in a later number (Dec.) of *The Library*.

Further *Borrowings in Grange's 'Golden Aphroditis'* beyond those previously noted by H. E. Rollins (see *Y.W.* xv. 220-1) are pointed out by M. P. Tilley (*M.L.N.*, June). These are from James Sanford's *The Garden of Recreation* (1573).

William Ringler (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 29) finds *Another Collier Forgery* in the alleged autograph inscription of the name of Stephen Gosson on the title-page of *Pleasant Quippes for Vpstart New-fangled Gentlewomen* (1595), which Collier cited as evidence of Gosson's authorship.

Jean Robertson (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 6) quotes documentary evidence of the 'lewd and fraudulent dealinges' in 1582 of *William Fulwood*, who may have been the author of *The Enimie of Idlenesse* (1566) or may just possibly have been his nephew.

Since *Angel Day* is not a common name the same scholar (*ibid.*, Aug. 13) is led to believe that the documents which she prints from a suit in the Court of Requests in 1584 surely must refer to the translator of *Daphnis and Chloe*, 1587. From this source Miss Robertson adds some details to the *D.N.B.* biography, and others are supplied by Warren B. Austin (*ibid.*, Nov. 12).

The brevity of life may explain why scholars have been inclined to read and discuss the plays and pamphlets of Robert Greene more thoroughly than his voluminous romances, but if it explains it does not excuse their neglect. The want of an adequate study existed, and it is satisfied by René Pruvost¹⁴ in one of those elaborate monographs which it seems a peculiarly French gift to make readable and entertaining as well as acute and instructive throughout. Even if it had a serious rival this book would claim a place on the shelves of every library devoted to Elizabethan literature, and in effect it has none.

The fundamental theme which gives unity to the whole is Pruvost's attempt by analysis of Greene's work to solve the riddle of his personality, both because this particular problem

¹⁴ *Robert Greene et ses Romans (1558-1592)*, by René Pruvost. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger, II^e série, tome XI. Paris: Les Belles Lettres. pp. 650. 70 francs.

is stimulating in itself and because Greene may be regarded as 'une sorte de symbole du conflit que se livraient dans l'âme des Anglais de son temps l'esprit de la Renaissance et celui de la Reforme'. It may readily be agreed that Greene is distinguished from many of his contemporaries not by any strong individuality of character but by the simple fact that he wrote a great deal and thus left a copious documentation for the student of his mind and spirit. If he was pre-eminent in any way it was that he showed even greater alacrity than most in imitating the latest successful writer (not always the best) and following the rapid fluctuations of fashion, a characteristic which Pruvost is at pains to relate to the imitative basis of education in Elizabethan schools and universities, but which was heightened in Greene by his natural bent and his financial necessity. In this respect he is peculiarly apt for treatment as a symbol of his age. He is one of those lesser writers who speak more truly than the great for the times in which they live. His transitions from Euphuism to adventure, to Italianate *novelle*, to exempla for women, to Arcadianism, to sermonizing, to realism, all reflect the changes of public taste, of the mood of his readers.

This much Pruvost is able to show by setting each of Greene's works or groups of works against its immediate background, but he does not make the mistake of stopping there. Underlying all his inconstancy and sequacity Greene had a fund of gusto and energy which reveals itself so far as is fit in his artificial romances as well as in his cony-catching pamphlets and gives to each its appreciable if not markedly individual charm. It is a secondary merit of Pruvost's work but not a minor one that he does justice to each book by itself as well as to Greene's literary output as a whole.

In his final estimate of Greene's character Pruvost withholds full assent from the second clause of the judgement which he quotes from Raleigh's *The English Novel*, 'It is easy to condemn the man, impossible not to love him', and he gives good reasons; but his whole book shows that he too has felt that charm which a weak, hypocritical, self-indulgent cad may, so unfairly, possess.

Of more limited scope is a discussion of *Science and Invention in Greene's Prose* by Don Cameron Allen (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.). The starting-point is that Gabriel Harvey accused some unnamed

Euphuist of inventing his science, and that he is more likely to have meant Greene than Lyly or Nashe. No conclusion can safely be drawn from modern failure to identify Greene's sources for 'science' in many kinds, but according to Allen lapidary lore was so stable that any departure from orthodoxy was probably an invention. On this basis he finds that Greene's allusions to precious stones are invented many times more often than they are traditional, and he holds that this is true of allusions to the animal and vegetable kingdoms as well.

In *Thomas Deloney, 'The Gentle Craft': eine hagiologische Untersuchung* Rudolf Kapp (*Anglia*, lxii) argues that in adapting the legends of the saints to the taste of Puritan England Deloney deprived them of their typically legendary qualities, and examines in detail the characteristics of the first part of Deloney's novel.

Frederick Hard contributes to *H.L.Q.* (Jan.) some interesting *Notes on John Eliot and his 'Ortho-epia Gallica'* of 1593, in which he attributes to Eliot a French commendatory poem in Maurice Kyffin's *The Blessedness of Britayne* (1587), discusses the sources and bibliographical peculiarities of Eliot's own book, and cites the marginalia of Gabriel Harvey in the Huntington Library copy.

Harry R. Hoppe (*J.E.G.P.*, Oct.) points out that *The Third (1600) Edition of Bales's 'Brachygraphy'*, of which he has found a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is not a mere revision of his earlier work as had been said, but is 'a radical modification of the system' and is in fact 'not really a stenographic system at all, but a system of abbreviations'.

Virgil B. Heltzel (*H.L.Q.*, Jan.) finds *Some New Light on Edward Topsell* in the dedication of his *Fowles of Heaven* preserved in manuscript in the Huntington Library. This dedication, apparently of about 1613, is to Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor, who was not the patron of any of Topsell's published works.

In a note on *Breton, Elyot, and 'The Court of Honour'* in *M.L.N.* (Dec.) the same scholar shows that a pamphlet published under that title as a new work in 1679 was in fact a

reprint as to three-quarters of its bulk from Breton's *The Good and the Badde* (1616), and as to its other quarter from *The Boke Named the Gouvernour* (1531).

The Farming Books of Gervase Markham present extremely intricate problems to the bibliographer. A survey by G. E. Fussell (*N. and Q.*, July 16) suggests a method of dealing with his habit of reprinting all or part of his own or other men's books under a new name, but leaves untouched his occasional use for a new book of a name previously used by himself or someone else.

The Debt of Fynes Moryson to Spenser's 'View' is examined by Rudolf B. Gottfried (*P.Q.*, July), who finds it barely recognizable in Moryson's folio *Itinerary* of 1617 but clearly marked in the continuation which he wrote between then and 1620, which was first published in 1903.

Like Raleigh, Bacon belonged to the two worlds of thought and action, and with the studies of him which have appeared this year we are virtually back amid those questions of the intellectual background of literature which were treated in the general works noticed at the beginning of this section. Both the following essays appear in the *Seventeenth Century Studies presented to Sir Herbert Grierson* which was mentioned above (p. 150).

In *Bacon and the Defence of Learning* Geoffrey Bullough surveys earlier Elizabethan attempts to state and repel the fourfold forces against which Bacon sought to defend learning and learned men in the earlier part of *The Advancement*, with a view to ascertaining how seriously this part of Bacon's work was taken by himself and should be taken to-day. Quotations from Ascham, Nashe, Raleigh, Daniel, Shakespeare, and others show well how the matter was mirrored by men of letters, without involving any close examination of Bacon's implicit claim to familiarity with the actualities of research in his own day.

This theme is taken up in the less substantial paper which follows by Rudolf Metz on *Bacon's Part in the Intellectual Movement of his Time*. Metz quotes with approval Sigwart's judge-

ment that 'Neither Bacon himself nor any one after him has discovered anything by making use of Bacon's method', but acknowledges his services as 'Marktschreier der Wissenschaft' and pays tribute to him for liberating scientific thought from its bondage to theology.

(2) *The Earlier Stuart Age and the Commonwealth*

By L. C. MARTIN

As in previous years, the notices of work on Milton's life and writings for the most part follow the notices of other work on (a) the prose and (b) the verse of the period. But first it will be convenient to take as a unit the relevant articles, including two on Milton, contained in the volume of *Seventeenth Century Studies presented to Sir Herbert Grierson* (see above, p. 150).

C. S. Lewis, writing on *Donne and Love Poetry in the Seventeenth Century*, offers a deftly compounded sedative to those who, as he thinks, admire Donne not wisely but too well; and Joan Bennet, who replies valiantly on behalf of *The Love Poetry of John Donne*, meets several of Lewis's pronouncements and states with much fineness of interpretation her reasons for regarding Donne as 'one of the greatest love poets in the English language'. A. J. Barnouw gives a comprehensive and sympathetic account of *Joost van den Vondel*, claiming that 'the wealth that Rembrandt and his fellow painters gathered for posterity on panel and canvas has its verbal counterpart in Vondel's verse'. A. E. Taylor provides *An Apology for Mr. Hobbes*, with intent to show that the philosopher's concern in his ethical theory 'is not to undermine the foundations of a morality of duty, but to secure them as thoroughly as his nominalist metaphysics will allow'. F. E. Hutchinson discusses *George Herbert*, considering the chronological order of the poems in *The Temple* and the value, intrinsic and historical, of Herbert's poetry as a reflection of his spiritual life. Laurence Binyon in *A Note on Milton's Imagery and Rhythm* and Mario Praz in an article on *Milton and Poussin* both comment finely on the poet's style, with some reference to T. S. Eliot's recently

expressed view that his genius was rather aural than visual (see *Y.W.* xvii. 187), and succeed in explaining and thus vindicating the peculiar quality of his pictorial or descriptive writing. E. M. W. Tillyard contributes an essay on *Milton and the English Epic Tradition*, a sequel to his Warton Lecture of 1936 (see *Y.W.* xvii. 163), and shows how in *Paradise Lost* Milton was able to gather up the various schemes for an epic which he had formed at different times and also 'most of the epical strains—medieval and renaissance alike—that were active in his generation'. T. S. Eliot writes *A Note on Two Odes of Cowley* ('To Hobbes' and 'Of Wit'), designed to exhibit 'Cowley's importance as a man who had some things to say about his own time, and who said them better than anyone else'. The present writer broaches the subject of *Henry Vaughan and the Theme of Infancy*; and finally there is an article by H. F. Stewart on *Pascal in Debate* with his Jesuit antagonists, illustrating his love of truth and his power of close reasoning.

Donne as a theologian is a subject not hitherto examined so comprehensively and systematically as it is by Itrat Husain.¹ A large amount of doctrinal material has been gathered, chiefly of course from the sermons, and is set out under traditional headings like 'Revealed Theology', 'Soteriology', and 'Eschatology'. The volume yields proof that in this sphere Donne's reading and thought lacked neither depth nor precision; and may give some pause to those who hold his advocacy of Anglicanism to have been wanting in sincerity or who suppose his thought generally to have been unsettled and incoherent.

A cognate theme, *The Question of Toleration in the Works of John Donne*, is scrutinized in *M.L.R.* (Apr.) by E. G. Lewis, who seeks to qualify assertions about Donne's fundamentally tolerant position, and to show that although he could favour latitude in doctrinal interpretation he deprecated dissent from authority in regard to the basic doctrines themselves and to matters of discipline and ritual.

In *T.L.S.* (Sept. 24) G. Keynes reveals the title of Donne's

¹ *The Dogmatic and Mystical Theology of John Donne*, by Itrat Husain, with a Preface by Sir Herbert J. C. Grierson. S.P.C.K. and New York: The Macmillan Co. pp. xv+149. 7s. 6d. or \$2.75.

last sermon, *Death's Duell*, to have been plagiarized from *La Dance Machabre or Death's Duell*, by Walter Colman (? 1632).

A single volume² which presents the life of Nicholas Ferrar, one long item from the Little Gidding Story Books, the moral tales, and a selection from the family correspondence is much to be welcomed. Mayor edited his *Two Lives* of Ferrar in 1855 and it is forty years since Miss Sharland published a volume and a half of the three Story Books in the British Museum. B. Blackstone now gives the second part of volume ii, preceded by the Life, which he takes from the most satisfactory extant manuscript, amplifying this from other sources. The 'Moral Histories' are from the Peck MS. at Clare College, and the letters are extracted from a large body of manuscript material left to Magdalene College by Dr. Peckard, who published *Memoirs of the Life of Mr. Nicholas Ferrar* in 1790. A good view is thus offered not only of Ferrar himself but of the Little Gidding community as a whole, its daily proceedings, and the spirit and interruptions of its devotional life. The correspondence includes a paper by George Herbert (see *Y.W.* xvii. 182) and material relative to the 'discord at Little Gidding' (*ibid.*, p. 186) occasioned by the strong-willed Bathsheba Owen, John Collet's second wife. There is a short introduction, biographical and textual, with informative prefaces to each section of the volume and manuscript facsimiles. It may be suggested that the 'Lussions' with which Bathsheba thought Nicholas had 'wasted his Inward parts' (p. 289) were not 'lusions' or games but 'loosings' or lozenges.

Renewed interest in the writings of Thomas Fuller bears fruit in two separate studies of one work, *The Holy State and the Profane State*. Both are partly concerned with literary values, but there is not too much overlapping because one scholar presents a text with introduction and notes³ and the other attempts chiefly a survey of the circumstances which may

² *The Ferrar Papers*, ed. by B. Blackstone. C.U.P. pp. 22+323. 21s.

³ *Thomas Fuller's The Holy State and the Profane State*, ed. by Maximilian Graff Walten. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, and O.U.P. Vol. i, pp. xv+502. Vol. ii, pp. xx+441. \$7.00 or 35s.

account for the shape, or approximation to shape, which Fuller's book assumed.⁴ No one is likely to accuse Walter E. Houghton, Jr., as some have accused Fuller, of a deficient structural sense, for there is a very business-like precision in this tracing of the connexions between Fuller's undertaking and those of earlier authors who contributed to the literature of estates, case-divinity, or family instruction, and who wrote treatises of courtesy and policy. These traditions, it is maintained, rather than any specific concern with essay, or 'character' writing, supplied the motives and the models for Fuller's design to make 'a single book of conduct by which men and women might be guided in every role of life, public and private', the immediate stimulus having been provided by Bacon, who in *The Advancement of Learning* had sketched the plan of such an enterprise. Houghton adds chapters on Fuller's importance in the history of English biography, on the influence of the reading public he addressed, and on the temper of his mind as it affected the quality of his style. A conclusion stresses his range, his constructive ability, and the essential unity of his purpose, virtues which may also be attributed to Houghton's own performance.

M. G. Walten's introduction covers less ground than Houghton's book, but it brings together much useful information and shows good appreciation of Fuller's motives and skill. Not the least satisfactory part of the work is the text, which is reproduced in facsimile from the first edition; and to this is added the long *Life of Andronicus* which in the second edition (1648) replaces the shorter one of 1642. The notes will often be found helpful, although some of them might have been omitted without great loss. The volumes of both Walten and Houghton may do the service of encouraging students to read at least one of Fuller's works through and not to rely on the 'beauties of Fuller' in extracted sentences.

In *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* Theodore Spencer tells with an appropriate verve *The History of an*

⁴ *The Formation of Thomas Fuller's Holy and Profane States*, by Walter E. Houghton, Jr. Harvard Univ. Press and O.U.P. pp. 259. \$3.00 or 12s. 6d.

Unfortunate Lady, viz. Lady Eleanor Audley, authoress of many 'strange and wonderful' prophecies during the first half of the seventeenth century. From the time when she put on mourning for her first husband, Sir John Davies, because he was to die so soon, to her own last year in which she was able to devise the anagram HOWL ROME out of O CROMWELL, her life was compact of sensation and of eccentricities sometimes found extremely inconvenient in high places. The facts have apparently not been assembled before and they have their comical-tragical importance for students of seventeenth-century thought in its less balanced moments.

A volume containing letters, gathered from many sources, of the Puritan divine, John Davenport (1597-1670), was not noticed last year.⁵ The collection is well edited and the letters cover a long period, 1624-69, during which Davenport was first an Anglican priest in London, then a Congregational minister in Amsterdam, and finally a leader of religious life in America, after his emigration in 1637. There is a carefully compiled biographical introduction concluding with an attempt to defend Davenport against the charges of deception and inconsistency which have been brought against him. The letters have much more historical and doctrinal than literary interest.

John J. Menaugh gives in *N. and Q.* (Aug. 20) *A Possible Source of a French Quotation in the 'Religio Medici'*, pointing out the similarities between the quatrain 'Le mutin Anglois, &c.' and a sonnet of Du Bellay.

Amended dates for items in *The Correspondence between Sir Thomas Browne and John Evelyn* are offered in *The Library* (June) by E. S. de Beer.

Because of its influence (perhaps underestimated) upon English thought in the seventeenth century a welcome may rightly be given here to Campanella's *Apologia pro Galileo* (1622) in its first English translation.⁶ The text is preceded by

⁵ *Letters of John Davenport: Puritan Divine*, ed. by Isabel MacBeath Calder. Yale Univ. Press and O.U.P. 1937. pp. xii+301. \$3.00 or 14s.

⁶ *The Defense of Galileo of Thomas Campanella*, ed. by Grant McColley. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Studies in History, vol. xxi, Nos. 3-4, April-July 1937 (published 1938). pp. xlv+93. \$1.50.

an introduction in which Campanella's life, writings, and character are examined and attention is given to the place of the *Apologia* in the development of heliocentric astronomy. The response of orthodox thinkers to the implicit attack upon Scriptural authority is described and also the bearing of Campanella's work upon the rise of empirical epistemology, the idea of intellectual progress, and the new turn taken in the seventeenth century by the long-standing astronomical conflict of 'Ancients' and 'Moderns'. A concluding section is devoted to the favourable reception of the *Apologia* given by Comenius and Bishop Wilkins. A large part of this introduction is based upon wide and first-hand investigation, and the volume as a whole, which includes notes on the text, is a commendable addition to the editor's already important work in the field of Renaissance cosmology.

In a very brief doctoral dissertation G. H. Gretton discusses the poetry of Donne, particularly in its bearings upon that of certain later poets of the seventeenth century.⁷ The work has some freshness of conception but suffers from the rather arbitrary restriction of the inquiry and from what appears to be a too slender acquaintance with recent literature of the subject. There are strange gaps in the bibliography, where one might, in view of the theme, expect to find such a work as George Williamson's *The Donne Tradition*.

An Early Use of Donne's Fourth Satire is pointed out in *M.L.N.* (June) by Virgil B. Heltzel, who refers to Joseph Wybarne's *The New Age of Old Names* (1609). Here lines 18-23 of the satire are quoted, as from 'the tenth Muse herself', a departure evidently from the secrecy generally observed by those allowed by Donne to see his poems in manuscript.

Under heading *John Donne the Younger: Addenda and Corrections to his Biography* Margaret A. Beese in *M.L.R.* (July) gathers several new items, among which perhaps the most

⁷ *John Donne: Seine Beziehung zu seiner Zeit und sein Einfluß auf seine „nicht-metaphysischen“ Nachfolger: Carew, Suckling, Marvell und Rochester*, by George Hermann Gretton. Düsseldorf: Dissertations-Verlag G. H. Nolte. pp. 53.

noteworthy is Donne's association with Denham, Waller, and Buckingham in ridicule of *Gondibert*.

By what seems a rather difficult analogy A. M. Hayes in *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) represents as *Counterpoint in Herbert* those of Herbert's stanzaic patterns in which the rhyming lines have an unequal number of syllables; and the poet's frequent 'contrapuntal' procedure is explained as a result of his desire 'to focus attention upon sense rather than sound'. Whether this be so or not Hayes has made, for those who may require it, a careful classification of the various stanzas which Herbert employed and has shown to what extent Herbert differed in this aspect of his metrical usage from other poets of his time and later.

To *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* Kenneth B. Murdock contributes *An Elegy on Sir Henry Morison, by Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland*, from a manuscript recently acquired by the Harvard College Library. There appears to be no doubt as to Cary's authorship; and the poem, which seems to have been written in 1629 or 1630, supplies evidence about the circumstances of Morison's death.

Chester Linn Shaver gives in *M.L.N.* (June) some new facts concerning *Thomas Beedome*, chiefly evidence to show that he was born in 1613, was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and died at no more than twenty-eight years of age.

English Studies (June) contains *Some Notes on Andrew Marvell's Garden* by A. H. King, who brings a lively intelligence to bear on the poem and wishes to suggest that it has a lighter tone than has often been supposed.

It takes courage to embark upon a study of metrical psalmody in the early part of the seventeenth century and skill to find and display its literary interest. Philipp von Rohr-Sauer⁸ has had some success in this endeavour, not least because he has included the work of poets like Vaughan and Crashaw, whose aims in making versions of particular psalms were not bounded

⁸ *English Metrical Psalms from 1600 to 1660*, by Philipp von Rohr-Sauer. Freiburg i. Br.: Universitätsdruckerei Poppen und Ortmann. pp. 128.

by ideals of close translation and suitability for public usage. He traces the course of his history with reference to those in the Anglican Church who upheld and those who sought to transform the tradition from Sternhold and Hopkins, and he gives, too, an account of dissenting psalm-singing in Scotland, Holland, and America as well as in England. In the second part of his work he is concerned with 'the aesthetic tradition', with the Psalms as poetry from Rowlands and Elizabeth Grymston to George Sandys, the best of those who aimed at literary distinction in a paraphrase of the whole book. The volume provides much good informative material for those who may wish to study the events leading up to the better psalms and hymns of the next century.

The eighteenth and concluding volume of the *Columbia Milton*⁹ has a special value of its own. In its predecessors almost everything is without a doubt authentic and has often been printed before; but here, besides authentic material not comprised in the earlier volumes, appropriate attention is given to 'doubtful, apocryphal, and lost pieces'; and an exceedingly generous interpretation of the 'works' of Milton leads to the recording of everything, including very short marginal notes, that implies 'original composition, collaboration, or translation on the part of the poet', all texts that give direct or indirect statements by him, legal documents, and conversation written down in his time or traditionally ascribed to him. All documents signed, and all books presented, corrected, or owned by him are also recorded.

Among the certainly genuine documents printed here apparently for the first time is one from the *Columbia MS.*, a separate treatment of the ideas otherwise set forth in *A Readie and Easie Way*. There is also a new letter from Milton to his brother Christopher of about January 1657/8; there is the conveyance to Cyriack Skinner mentioned by Sotheby and Masson; and there are many new marginal jottings.

It could be wished that the valuable annotations at the end

⁹ *The Works of John Milton*, vol. xviii. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, and O.U.P. pp. xxi+656. £24 the set. (See *Y.W.* xvi. 264 and xviii. 181.)

of the book were connected with the text by page references. But any such minor inconvenience can hardly detract from the wealth of the whole volume, for which, as for all that has preceded it, the editors must gratefully be held in honour.

The well-known edition of Milton's poems in the Oxford Standard Authors series reappears¹⁰ with a supplement of 125 pages containing the Columbia translations into English of the poems in Italian, Latin, and Greek, and a Reader's Guide by W. Skeat. The latter takes the form of a glossary in which for the most part explanation of only the obscurer words and passages is attempted; but the 65 pages thus filled cannot fail to be of great service. 'The subject-matter of the Latin poems has, for the first time, been annotated in a Milton glossary.' These accretions are all the more gratifying in that the price of the volume in its new form is unchanged.

E. M. W. Tillyard, whose comprehensive book on Milton of 1930 does not lose its authority, adds to it a slighter volume of separate studies¹¹ with the same virtues of insight and scholarly persuasiveness, here employed 'to attach Milton more firmly to his age and to defend him against modern defamation'. Some of the chapters have appeared before and have already been noticed (see p. 168 above, *Y.W.* xiii. 206, and xvii. 163). Five are printed for the first time. In 'Milton and Keats' the analogies are made out with special reference to *Lycidas* and the *Ode to a Nightingale*, both poems presenting the same tragic theme of 'death, sorrow, the futility of ambition, the corruption of human nature; the desire to escape them; acceptance of them in the end; and following it renewed vitality'. 'Milton and Primitive Feeling' goes some way into the large question of the 'oblique' interests discernible and the 'archetypal patterns' followed in Milton's poetry. In another chapter Tillyard attempts to show in what sense 'Milton and Protestantism' may be associated. 'Milton's Visual Imagination' again

¹⁰ *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, ed by H. C. Beeching, with Translations of the Italian, Latin, and Greek Poems from the Columbia Univ. Edition and a Reader's Guide by W. Skeat. O.U.P. pp. xvi + 679. 3s. 6d.

¹¹ *The Miltonic Setting Past & Present*, by E. M. W. Tillyard. C.U.P. pp. xi + 208. 7s. 6d.

(see p. 168 above) answers the criticism that the appeal of his poetry is primarily to the ear and that his visual sense was but slightly developed. Finally, the long 'Note on Milton's Style' is designed to meet charges that his diction is too remote from the common idiom and his style over-deliberate and mechanically determined.

Portions of C. Looten's volume on Milton¹² were published some years ago (see *Y.W.* xii. 207). The aim of the whole work appears to be that of imparting facts about the poet to uninstructed French readers and of communicating an evidently warm enthusiasm for Milton's genius. The author has a conservative habit of criticism and does not take very kindly to certain views expressed by Saurat, Douady, and Belloc. It is indeed of interest to have the opinions of a Catholic Professor on the *De Doctrina Christiana*, but the discussion would benefit by reference to some of the careful attention of late devoted to the treatise by English and American scholars. Doubtless 'il est dangereux, sous prétexte d'innover, de s'émanciper des méthodes anciennes'; but there is an opposite kind of danger which these essays do not seem altogether to avoid.

Some parts of Ernest Brennecke's work on Milton's father¹³ are written in a fictional manner evidently intended to gild the pill of scholarship; but in spite of this handicap the book deserves attention from students of the younger Milton for the light which it throws upon his father's musical gifts, these being held to justify the assertion that 'he was a genius in his own right long before he had any children'. The work is largely based upon a study of his extant music, more than half of which is said to have been completely ignored. It is clearly of importance to know what kind of music he wrote and approved of, and the extracts from his compositions given at the end of the book may help to explain the high compliment to his gifts in *Ad Patrem*.

¹² *J. Milton. Quelques aspects de son génie*, by Le Chanoine C. Looten. Lille: Facultés Catholiques; Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. pp. 248.

¹³ *John Milton the Elder and his Music*, by Ernest Brennecke, Jr. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, and O.U.P. pp. xvii+224. \$3.50 or 7s. 6d.

By a careful weighing of facts and probabilities William R. Parker in *M.L.N.* (June) reaches conclusions of some value concerning the correspondence which passed between *Milton and Thomas Young 1620-1628*. The date of *Elegia Quarta* is accepted as between 21 March and 28 April 1627; which gives February or March 1625 as the time when Milton last saw Young, returned from Hamburg. No allusion, however, is made to the meeting in the prose letter dated, on questionable authority, 26 March 1625; and Parker gives his reasons for supposing that this letter was in fact written in 1627, very soon after the *Elegia*, to which it seems to refer.

The same writer, in *T.L.S.* (Dec. 17), identifies *Milton's* 'Fair Infant' with Anne, daughter of Edward and Anne Phillips, who according to the Register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields was baptized on 12 January 1626 and died on 22 January 1628.

Under the heading *Shakespeare and Milton* in *M.L.N.* (May) Theodore Spencer remarks upon features common to the epitaph on Sir Edmund Stanley attributed to Shakespeare and Milton's 'On Shakespear' (1630). The most striking similarity is between 'sky-aspiring Piramides' and 'Star-ypointing Pyramid'.

In *The Harvard Theological Review* Grant McColley argues persuasively that *The Book of Enoch and Paradise Lost* are more closely related than has hitherto been recognized, in that Milton seems not only to have been acquainted with fragments of the book contained in the *Chronographia* of Syncellus and in other citations but to have drawn upon the complete Enoch for some marked features of his poem. Thus the various elements in his description of Uriel, for which no single source has previously been found, are all paralleled in 1 Enoch and it is only there that, as in the poem, he is represented as regent of the universe.

The same writer considers in *S. in Ph.* (Jan.) *Milton's Technique of Source Adaptation*. In some lengthy parallels traced between *Paradise Lost* and Milton's apparent sources in the works of Spenser, Du Bartas, Wilkins, and Ross it is shown that the forward order of Milton's ideas or phrases is consistently the backward order in the original and that some peculiarities of statement by Milton may find their explanation

through this procedure. In a second class of parallels he is seen distinctly to follow the order of the original matter ; in a third the technique is less clearly definable. McColley promises a volume in which the significance of these phenomena as a whole will be discussed ; and it is clear that they deserve scrutiny, even though the results may only at certain points and within certain limits justify conclusions about Milton's habits in writing his poetry.

The Paradox of the Fall in Paradise Lost is considered in *M.L.N.* (Dec.) by Clarence C. Green with reference to Lovejoy's article published in 1937 (see *Y.W.* xviii. 185). Green shows much philosophical acuteness in his analysis of the various meanings which 'reason' and 'freedom' bear in Milton's usage, and of the logical uncertainties which may thus seem to inhere in Milton's treatment of the tradition.

A short article in *Anglia* (May) with heading *To save appearances* (*Par. L. VIII, 82*), *ein Problem der Scholastik*, by Karl Hammerle, shows how the notion conveyed by this phrase is anticipated in such works as Buridan's Commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*.

In *The University of Toronto Quarterly* (July) Marjorie Nicolson examines the possibility of a relationship between *Milton's Hell and the Phlegræan Fields*, which Milton may well have visited during his Italian tour. Persuasive reasons are given for the conjecture, in the physical features of the Fields themselves, in their mythological and architectural associations, and in the descriptions made by two of Milton's contemporaries, Athanasius Kircher and George Sandys.

By enlarging upon the relations between *The Christ of Paradise Regained and the Renaissance Heroic Tradition* Merritt Y. Hughes is able to show that Milton's conception was less peculiar than has often been supposed, and less explicable merely as a projection of the poet himself in a mood of stoical resignation to the defeat of his hopes. The 'magnanimous' and contemplative Hero represents a strong element in medieval and Renaissance thought, which Hughes illustrates from Malory, Piccolomini, Scaliger, Tasso, and others ; as 'the climax of an epic tradition stretching back to Boccaccio and Petrarch' Milton's Christ takes on a new kind of interest ; as

also when it is realized that as the representative of the Word, or divine Reason, he is no solitary child of Milton's invention but 'a universal possession of contemporary minds'.

Parallels between *Milton and Valerius Flaccus* and one between Milton and Prudentius are given in *N. and Q.* (Dec. 3) by C. W. Brodribb. Others between *Milton and Chapman* are noted (*ibid.*, Dec. 24) by George G. Loane.

Maurice Kelley discusses *Milton and Miracles* in *M.L.N.* (March), seeking to show that in this regard Milton was nearer to Puritan orthodoxy than has been sometimes thought.

J. Milton French writes in *P.M.L.A.* (June) on the markings and other features of *Milton's Family Bible* (in the British Museum).

French writes, too, in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* on *The Powell-Milton Bond* (of 1627), giving many details of the transaction which was the subject of litigation by Milton in 1646 and was written off as settled in 1659. Incidentally French seems to have added one more to the tale of extant Milton autograph signatures.

In the same compilation French also describes *Milton's Annotated Copy of Gildas*, a new discovery, although the volume (*De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae Epistola*) has been in the Harvard College Library for nearly two hundred years. Milton's signature does not appear, but the hand is confidently attributed to him and the marginalia which it supplies are shown to have their bearing upon passages in Milton's *History of Britain*.

X

THE RESTORATION

By F. E. BUDD

RESTORATION studies for 1938 have been mainly devoted to the drama and to prose, poetry being represented only by a few articles.

To consider first the writings on drama, the most extensive in range is John Wilcox's *The Relation of Molière to Restoration Comedy*.¹ This deals afresh with the vexed question of Molière's influence, previous opinions on which are fully recorded by way of introduction. After a long statement of the objective method by which he seeks to reach conclusions, Wilcox investigates those Restoration comedies 'that reflect, or have been alleged to reflect, in any degree the influence of Molière', with a view to estimating his significance in the development both of individual dramatists and of English comedy of manners as a whole. Etherege is found to have been free from Molière's influence, and consequently 'there is no foundation for the more ambitious thesis that the whole school of Restoration comedy is the product of his influence working through Etherege's early and influential comedies of manners'. Wycherley, on the other hand, appears to have been increasingly indebted to Molière for matter and for his technique of achieving the effects of comic irony, though in spirit his 'profoundly malicious cynicism' is wholly different from 'the benign, reflective sobriety of Molière'. Of Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar, none owed anything of spirit, and only Vanbrugh owed something of substance, to the Frenchman. Moreover, Dryden, Shadwell, and a number of minor dramatists, even when writing with Molière's plays open before them, stood no more in awe of him than of his lesser fellow-countrymen. 'They lacked respect for his views on life and did not admire his dramaturgic technique. They took from him what they could make incidental to their own conventional Restoration views and adapt to their tradi-

¹ *The Relation of Molière to Restoration Comedy*, by John Wilcox. Columbia and O.U. Presses. pp. ix+240. 15s.

tional British methods of building plays. They complacently believed their work could not be improved by imitating a mere French comedian.' Altogether Wilcox accumulates thirty-eight comedies of the period (or roughly one in every five produced) which have some connexion with Molière, although only sixteen of these owe sufficient to him to be described as adaptations. In the conclusion to his careful study Wilcox emphasizes the essential differences in form, spirit, and matter between Molière and the English writers of comedies of manners. He remains convinced that this comic type is of native growth and that Molière made no significant contribution to it.

Laurence Whistler has written a full-length biography of Vanbrugh,² in which the varied activities, triumphs, and vicissitudes of his career are amply and sympathetically described. Due attention is paid to his connexion with the theatre as dramatist and as part manager of the opera house which he designed in the Haymarket; but Whistler has nothing fresh in fact or criticism to offer on this aspect of Vanbrugh's work. His main interest is in Vanbrugh's architectural achievements, to which full justice is done in both the text and the illustrative plates.

In a valuable article on *The English Heroic Play* (*M.L.R.*, Jan.) Miss A. E. Parsons examines the relationship between the seventeenth-century heroic play, heroic poem, and heroic prose romance in the light of their common obedience to the precepts of sixteenth-century Italian critics concerning 'the shaping of romantic material to the epic pattern'. Her historical sketch of the emergence of those special features which she establishes as being distinctive of the heroic play leads her to support Dryden's recognition of Davenant as the actual inventor of this kind in its fully developed form.

Alfred Harbage's *A Census of Anglo-Latin Plays* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) contains some Restoration titles. In *Lenten Casts and the Nursery; Evidence for the Dating of certain Restoration Plays* (*ibid.*, Sept.) Philip H. Gray, Jr., distinguishes between the

² *Sir John Vanbrugh, Architect and Dramatist, 1664-1726*, by Laurence Whistler. Cobden-Sanderson. pp. 327. 21s.

nursery players and the 'young', or hireling, actors of the companies, as distinct from the actor-sharers. He suggests that plays with casts made up solely of hireling actors were probably acted at the King's Theatre or the Duke's Theatre during Lent, when these actors were given opportunities of playing for their exclusive profit.

In *Henry Purcell's Dramatic Songs and the English Broadside Ballad* (P.M.L.A., March) Roy Lamson, Jr., cites many instances to show the frequency with which Purcell's playhouse tunes were 'borrowed' and employed for broadside ballads, however inappropriate to the airs the themes of these doggerel compositions might be. From an analysis of over 175 songs in about eighty Restoration tragedies Robert Gale Noyes, in *Conventions of Song in Restoration Tragedy* (ibid., March), deduces that songs were expressly employed for some practical or artistic purpose. After illustrating some dozen different functional uses, he concludes that pre-Commonwealth conventions of song obtained with little modification throughout the Restoration period. In a further article Noyes provides a lengthy catalogue of *Contemporary Musical Settings of the Songs in Restoration Dramatic Operas* (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xx).

Several articles are concerned with individual dramatists or plays. From an analysis of *The Friendship Theme in Orrery's Plays* (P.M.L.A., Sept.) Laurens Joseph Mills deduces that Orrery largely retains pre-Commonwealth conventions of heroic friendship, often in combination with the further convention of high respect for royalty. Some minor innovations are noted. In *John Wilson and his 'Some Few Plays'* (R.E.S., April) M. C. Nahm plausibly suggests that Wilson's disclaimer of plagiarism in his epistle to *Andronicus Comnenius* (1664) can be justified only by assuming that he was himself the author of the anonymous *Andronicus*, a tragedy which, according to Nahm, was probably written by him about 1644, although not published until 1661. In *Shadwell's Use of Hobbes* (S. in Ph., July) Thomas B. Stroup gives a detailed analysis of the fairly numerous debts in Shadwell's plays and poems to the deterministic and mechanic theories of Hobbes. The fact that Shad-

well was an undergraduate of Caius College, Cambridge, has prompted N. B. J. H. to contribute *Thomas Shadwell; a Biography*, a brief survey of the laureate's activity, to the college magazine, *The Caian* (xlvi, no. 3). C. B. Graham quotes a short borrowing from *Volpone* in *An Echo of Jonson in Aphra Behn's 'Sir Patient Fancy'* (*M.L.N.*, April). Edwin E. Williams suggests that Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer* owes minor debts to Furetière's novel, in *Furetière and Wycherley; 'Le Roman Bourgeois' in Restoration Comedy* (ibid., Feb.). In *A Possible Source of 'The Way of the World'* (*M.L.R.*, April) E. Millicent Pool proposes a scene in Nolant de Fatouville's *Arlequin Jason* (acted 1684, published 1695) as a potential original of the scene between Millamant and Mirabell in Act iv, scene i of Congreve's play. Kathleen M. Lynch has sketched in considerable detail the biography of Congreve's *Irish Friend, Joseph Keally* (*P.M.L.A.*, Dec.) and has paid tribute to their enlightened friendship.

Dryden has received but slight attention. In *An Unpublished Dryden Letter* (*T.L.S.*, Oct. 29) Charles E. Ward prints a letter probably written in 1677 to Viscount Latimer, in which the dramatist touches upon *Mr. Limberham, All for Love*—and his pension payments. In *The Publication and Profits of Dryden's 'Virgil'* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) Ward calculates, chiefly from the evidence of Dryden's agreement with Tonson (see *Y.W.* xviii. 191–2), that the profits from subscriptions and from Tonson's payments (but not including gifts from patrons) totalled about £590, that is, less than one-half of the amounts suggested by Malone and Saintsbury. Neil Kevin, writing from the Catholic viewpoint on *The Argument from Poetry (Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Sept. 1937)*, illustrates the genuineness of Dryden's conversion to Catholicism from the evidence of his poetry. In *Dryden and the Primer of 1706* (*Downside Review, July*) Walter Shewring revises his views as published in the *Ampleforth Journal* (Dec. 1933) in consequence of the arguments advanced by Noyes and Potter in *Hymns Attributed to John Dryden* (see *Y.W.* xviii. 190–1); but, while no longer maintaining Dryden's authorship, he still judges the hymns to be meritorious poetry. In *Dryden et Voltaire* (*R.L.C.*, April–June) Albert Maillet finds evidence of a considerable influence on Voltaire of Dryden as

dramatist, literary critic, and, more surprisingly, as deist philosopher. Mention may perhaps be made at this point of Pierre Legouis's note on *A Journal from Parnassus* (*Études anglaises*, ii).

Poets other than Dryden have received equally slight attention. In *Cotton's Poems* (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 22) Ernest M. Turner announces his discovery in the Derby Municipal Library of an important manuscript volume of Cotton's poems, and John Beresford (*Cotton's Poems*, *ibid.*, Jan. 29) adds two biographical notes on Cotton. In *Henry Lawes and Charles Cotton* (*P.M.L.A.*, Sept.) Willa McClung Evans reproduces in facsimile Lawes's setting for Cotton's lyric, 'The Picture'.

On internal evidence Harold F. Brooks suggests the spring of 1674 as *The Date of Rochester's 'Timon'* (*N. and Q.*, May 28). Philip Gray contributes some fresh details towards the solution of a difficult bibliographical problem in *Rochester's 'Poems on Several Occasions'*; *New Light on the Dated and Undated Editions, 1680* (*Library*, Sept.).

In *The Authorship of 'Spencer Redivivus'* (*R.E.S.*, July) Leicester Bradner suggests the Hon. Edward Howard as the perpetrator of this curious version, in couplets and modernized English, of *The Faerie Queene*. Philip A. Shelley's *William Hickes, Native of Oxford* (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xx) includes a sketch of the career and a bibliography of the publications in prose and verse of this compiler of Restoration jest-books and drolleries. Eleanore Boswell Murrie's *Notes on the Printers and Publishers of English Song-Books, 1651-1702* (*Edinburgh Bibliographical Society's Transactions*, i) provides, with introductory comment, an extensive hand-list of names, together with the titles of publications.

Various prose writers of the period are the subjects of a number of interesting volumes and articles. M. G. Walten's handsome two-volume edition of Fuller's *The Holy State and the Profane State* has been noticed above.³

³ See Chapter IX, pp. 170-1.

Under the title of *Puritanism and Liberty*⁴ A. S. P. Woodhouse has issued a new edition of the Putney Debates of the General Council of the Army (Oct.–Nov. 1647) and the Whitehall Debates of the Council of Officers (Dec. 1648–Jan. 1649), to which he has added an extensive selection of doctrinaire tracts illustrating Puritan views on liberty and a long appendix of documents bearing directly on the debates and the organization of the army. Although this material is primarily intended for historians, it provides a wide range of material for the study of mid-seventeenth-century English as spoken and written by men innocent of conscious literary ambitions, though by no means deficient in the command of vivid, direct language, often strongly coloured by their constant Biblical reading. Moreover, Woodhouse's long introduction, in which he co-ordinates the whole of his varied material and expounds its historical significance, is a valuable contribution to the history of Puritanism and, by throwing light on the often complicated workings of the idealistic Puritan mind, helps materially towards an understanding of the Puritan literature of the period.

The third volume of Arthur Bryant's life of Pepys⁵ has now appeared (see *Y.W.* xiv. 271–3, xvi. 274–5). Only five and a half years, from late 1683 to early 1689, are here covered; but they were, in Bryant's judgement, 'the most important of his career', and their packed events are unified by their almost uniform relevance to Pepys as 'the Saviour of the Navy'. The opening four chapters are concerned with the Tangier Voyage, for which the *Tangier Papers*, recently edited by Chappell (see *Y.W.* xvi. 275), provide the principal evidence. Pepys's official industry, private curiosity, and patriotic indignation at the decline of naval discipline and probity since he vacated office at the Admiralty, found ample scope for expression on this expedition, the first in his activities at Tangier itself, the

⁴ *Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates (1647–9) from the Clarke Manuscripts, with Supplementary Documents*, selected and ed. by A. S. P. Woodhouse. Foreword by A. D. Lindsay. Dent. pp. c+506. 18s.

⁵ *Samuel Pepys: The Saviour of the Navy*, by Arthur Bryant. C.U.P. pp. x+452. 12s. 6d.

second on his protracted Spanish holiday, and the third throughout the whole of the voyage. The remaining eleven chapters tell, with a wealth of vivid detail derived largely from uncalendared Admiralty Letter Books, the much less familiar story of Pepys's second period at the Admiralty from May 1684 until February 1689. As Secretary to the Admiralty, responsible to the King alone, Pepys was administrative head of the navy. With adequate funds available for the greater part of James II's reign and with royal support for his disciplinary reforms, he restored the rotting battle fleet, added fresh ships, evolved and enforced upon officers of all social grades and ranks the Regulations of the Admiralty, and built up the civil service side of the Admiralty into a machine whose efficiency could survive the withdrawal of his own great driving force. Although on the eve of the Revolution his revived navy failed to serve James's cause through the indecision of its commander, Lord Dartmouth, it survived to do great service in the years that followed—but not under Pepys's administration, for with the Revolution settlement he laid down his office. Bryant, indeed, goes so far as to claim that it is by virtue of Pepys's supreme achievement in these years that England 'still rules the sea'. The Pepys of this volume is, in consequence of the nature of Bryant's sources, the 'public' Pepys, the highly respectable Admiralty Secretary and President of the Royal Society. If, with his industry, he also retained some of the foibles of his *Diary* days, they are not apparent, although ghosts from the past occasionally materialized to embarrass him. Nevertheless, he is clearly a matured development of the hero of Bryant's first volume, and the character is firmly drawn. A fourth volume will tell the story of the remaining fourteen years of his life.

Two notes on Pepys may be mentioned, D. Bonner-Smith's *Samuel Pepys and York Buildings (Mariner's Mirror, April)*, which gives details of Pepys's connexion with York Buildings during his later years, and Neil G. Smith's *Mr. Pepys goes to Church (Univ. of Toronto Quarterly, vii)*.

E. S. de Beer has edited Evelyn's '*Londinum Redivivum, or London Restored* not to its pristine, but to far greater Beauty,

Commodiousness and Magnificence'.⁶ Evelyn's proposals for the rebuilding of London in accordance with the most advanced views of the time on town-planning were submitted to Wren and to the King within a week after the Great Fire itself. Two sketches by Evelyn of a London rebuilt according to his ideals are reproduced. This enlightened short discourse is prefaced by an interesting introduction in which Evelyn's proposals are related to current European practice.

In *A Translation attributed to Evelyn: 'The Manner of Ordering Fruit-Trees' (1660) (R.E.S., July)* the present writer adduces internal and external evidence to support his claim that Evelyn was the translator of the rare, anonymously published English version of Le Gendre's *La Manière de cultiver les arbres fruitiers*.

Evelyn's political relations and correspondence with his former schoolfellow, the Parliamentary leader Morley, are discussed in two articles entitled *Evelyn and Colonel Herbert Morley in 1659 and 1660*, the first by E. S. de Beer (*Sussex Archaeological Collections*, lxxviii, 1937), the second by Arthur H. Nethercot (*H.L.Q.*, July). De Beer also corrects the dating of certain Evelyn letters in *The Correspondence between John Evelyn and Lord Clifford (N. & Q., Feb. 19)* and in *The Correspondence between Sir Thomas Browne and John Evelyn (Library, June)*.

In *A Letter by Joseph Glanvill on the Future State (H.L.Q., July)* Charles F. Mullett prints from among the Hastings MSS. in the Huntington Library a long letter, dated 20 January 1661 (i.e. 1661/2), on the Origenian topic of pre-existence. On the strength of this letter Mullett questions the usual attribution to George Rust of the anonymously published *Letter of Resolution concerning Origen* (see *Y.W.* xiv. 277).

Seven of the late Sir Charles Firth's essays on topics of equal interest to students of history and literature have been reprinted in one very welcom volume. Three of these have been noticed

⁶ John Evelyn: *London Revived. Consideration for its Rebuilding in 1666*, ed. by E. S. de Beer. O.U.P. pp. 61. 5s.

above,⁷ and 'The Political Significance of *Gulliver's Travels*' is an essay that is indispensable to students of Swift. The remaining three essays are on Restoration themes. *Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, as Statesman, Historian, and Chancellor of the University*, a tercentenary lecture delivered at Oxford in 1909, includes a valuable brief study of the growth, structure, and quality of the *History of the Rebellion*. *Burnet as an Historian* analyses Burnet's philosophy of history and its practical expression in the *History of the Reformation* and the *History of My Own Time*. *John Bunyan*, reprinted from the introduction to Methuen's 1898 edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, serves to remind us of the special debt of Bunyan students to Firth for his detailed tracing of the sources of the allegory to Bunyan's personal experiences and his acquaintance with medieval romances. J. W. Mackail pays tribute to this essay in his sensitive critical appreciation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in *Studies in Humanism*.⁸

E. W. Walters has 'arranged for the modern reader' an easily read text of the two parts of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.⁹ Marginal references and comments are eliminated, spelling and punctuation modernized, and the paragraphs, especially those containing dialogue, redistributed. As Dean Matthews says in his foreword, 'Bunyan deserves to be given the typographical advantages that are enjoyed by novelists, for he is one of the masters of graphic and moving narrative.' For the other type of modern reader who prefers the typographical flavour of early editions, Frank Mott Harrison has prepared a text of Part I from the first edition of 1678, with, however, certain revisions of spelling and punctuation and with Bunyan's own additions to the second, third, and fourth editions.¹⁰ The Bedford Public Library has issued an illustrated catalogue¹¹ of over eight hundred Bunyan items, including some very rare ones, presented

⁷ See Chapter I, pp. 10-11.

⁸ See above, p. 103.

⁹ John Bunyan: *The Pilgrim's Progress*, arranged for the modern reader by E. W. Walters, with introductions by W. R. Matthews and E. S. Waterhouse. Duckworth. pp. xii + 326. 6s.

¹⁰ John Bunyan: *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. by Frank Mott Harrison. Bedford: Sidney Press. pp. 304. 3s. 6d.

¹¹ *Catalogue of the John Bunyan Library (Frank Mott Harrison Collection)*. Bedford Public Library. pp. 42. 1s.

to it by Harrison on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Bunyan's death.

A useful reprint of Locke's *Letter concerning Toleration* (1689) and the second *Treatise of Civil Government* (1690) has been prepared by Charles L. Sherman,¹² with a brief introduction in which the political significance of these liberal essays, particularly for present-day readers, is clearly underlined.

Locke is also the subject of an essay in *Seventeenth Century Studies presented to Sir Herbert Grierson*.¹³ R. I. Aaron, writing on *The Limits of Locke's Rationalism*, finds that Locke's predominant rationalism is restricted by his allowance for man's sensitive experiences and for the existence of ultra-rational religious truths communicated only through revelation. Four other essays in this volume call for notice in this chapter. A. E. Taylor submits *An Apology for Mr. Hobbes*, in which an analysis of some aspects of Hobbes's ethical theory helps to rebut earlier charges that he was 'the champion of private licence' and 'the apologist of unrestricted arbitrary "tyranny" in politics'.¹⁴ Pierre Legouis, writing on *Corneille and Dryden as Dramatic Critics*, argues the superiority of Dryden over Corneille in content and manner. Not the least interesting passages in Legouis's analysis of their major dramatic essays are his *obiter dicta* on Shakespeare. In *Phalaris and Phalarism* H. W. Garrod gives a lively account of the Bentley-Charles Boyle controversy, with catholic appreciation of *Boyle against Bentley* as 'first-class journalism' and of Bentley's *Dissertation* as 'one of the grand monuments of European scholarship'. In *The Turn of the Century* Basil Willey closely examines some of the uses of the idea of 'Nature' in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, his sub-sections being headed 'Natural Science and Natural Religion', 'Natural Law', and 'Nature in Literary Theory'.

¹² *Treatise of Civil Government and A Letter concerning Toleration*, by John Locke, ed. by Charles L. Sherman. Appleton-Century Co. 1937. pp. xv+224. 4s. 6d.

¹³ See above, pp. 149-50 and 166-7.

¹⁴ See also above, p. 167.

In conclusion, reference may be made to V. de Sola Pinto's *The English Renaissance (1510–1688)*,¹⁵ which provides in its later sections a guide to students' reading of the literature of the Restoration period up to the Revolution.

¹⁵ See above, Chapter VI, p. 102.

XI

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By EDITH J. MORLEY

THE Nonesuch edition of *The Writings of Gilbert White of Selborne*¹ is the only important eighteenth-century classic to be reprinted this year, and from every standpoint it deserves the unique position it therefore holds. The volumes contain not only the *Natural History of Selborne* in full but also the *Antiquities of Selborne* (with some insubstantial omissions of Latin charters, &c.), six years of the *Naturalist's Journal*, a selection from White's letters, and four of his poems.

'The parochial interests of Gilbert White were extraordinarily wide; there was hardly a subject within the bounds of his parish that he did not . . . touch. . . . Massingham has tried to give full effect to the generous breadth of mind, capacity of knowledge, and extent of sympathies that distinguished a man who wrote only about his own place, and yet for all time.'

Massingham's Introduction must not be overlooked when an estimate of the edition is attempted. Both there and in the prefatory notes to the various works included, he shows himself to be a competent critic and in the true succession to White as a master of English prose and a lover of the English countryside. The wood-engravings by Eric Ravilious are a fitting accompaniment to two volumes which it is a pleasure to read and to handle.

Geoffrey Tillotson writes *On the Poetry of Pope*,² a small volume which has the outstanding merit of dealing freshly with its subject, almost as if it were being considered for the first time. This is not to imply that the author is seeking after 'originality' at the expense of his predecessors. It means simply that he has enjoyed Pope's poetry and that in his examination of the grounds for the pleasure it has given him, he manages to convey

¹ *The Writings of Gilbert White of Selborne*, ed. H. J. Massingham. Nonesuch Press. 2 vols. pp. xxx + 356 + viii + 356, limited ed. £3. 10s.

² *On the Poetry of Pope*, by Geoffrey Tillotson. O.U.P. pp. viii + 180. 7s. 6d.

some of his own reasoned enthusiasm to the reader. All the hackneyed topics—correctness, nature, Pope's use of satire, and the rest—take on the charm of novelty because of the zest and vigour with which they are discussed. This might be illustrated in many ways: we must be content to cite a very few examples. Pope's natural descriptions are limited, as every one has observed, by his belief that the proper study of mankind is man. 'The part played by external nature in the mind of civilized man is always relatively a small part, and this necessary restriction of interest gets mirrored in the poetry he is inspiring. There is therefore more of society in eighteenth-century poetry than of trees and "lovely hills".' Moreover, the use of the couplet tended to restrict the breadth of the landscape if it found its way into poetry. 'This shrinkage, however, is never found in Pope's descriptions. In his mature work a landscape will often be allotted only a single couplet, sometimes two. But the space of those twenty syllables has the appearance of infinity.' Five couplets from the *Dunciad* are cited to prove the point, which is not likely to be overlooked again by anyone who has hitherto missed 'nature treatment' in the satires but has now had his eyes opened to 'Pope's sense of beauty'.

Or there is the discussion of the poet's satire, 'the cruellest satire of the age only because Pope is the best writer'; or the statement that 'Pope's letters seem more concerned with friendship than with any other subject', or that his 'perception of moral beauty, of moral depravity and of all the subtleties compounded between them' is as 'tender' as Keats's 'snail-horn perception of beauty'. These things are unforgettable when they have been pointed out—but they have not previously been pointed out in this fashion. More disputable is the opinion that 'Pope may be said to excel all English poets in his combination of size with minuteness. It is part of the variety he sought for', or such a claim as that 'he interpreted the human material of his essays and satires as profoundly and nobly as Wordsworth though not as "mystically"'. Like Wordsworth he transfigured it with his 'sentiment'. But it is precisely because these remarks startle us into new apprehension that Tillotson fulfils his critical mission.

The appearance of R. K. Root's estimate of *The Poetical Career of Alexander Pope*³ in the same year as Tillotson's book is in itself a proof of the widespread renewal of interest in the work of the poet whom nineteenth-century critics undervalued and misjudged. Root's analysis, like that of Tillotson, is the result of intimate knowledge and appreciation, but while, of necessity, it covers the same ground, the approach is different and the method dissimilar. The resulting impression left on the reader is, however, equally that of the magnitude and importance of Pope's achievement. Root begins by an examination of the Canons of Poetic Art and the vogue of The Heroic Couplet which sets the scene for his detailed consideration of the poet's writings dealt with in chronological order from the Cool Pastorals of his boyhood, through The Maze of Fancy, the translation of Homer, *The Dunciad* of 1729, Moralized Song, The Art of Satire, until the concluding chapter on *The Dunciad* of 1743. Here too we must content ourselves with mention only of a very few of the points made. One of the most striking is the reference to Chaucer's 'correctness' in Pope's sense of the term. The careful elucidation of the significance of such words as *wit*, *invention*, *dunce*, *dulness*, as Pope used them, is of first-rate importance from the critical as well as the purely linguistic point of view. The examination of Pope's verse, with the conclusion that it 'is monotonous only to those who have never tuned their ears to [the] subtle modulations' here explained and illustrated; the emphasis on the fact, so usually ignored, that Pope's couplets 'group themselves into the larger unit of the verse-paragraph, the group being held together by the logic of the sense and by the cadences of the modulation' are just two of the more striking remarks about Pope's versification, though there is much else on that subject which is excellently stated (e.g. the allusion to the frequency with which the paragraphs approximate to the sonnet limit of fourteen lines). The subject of Pope's 'romanticism' is another which has never before been so convincingly treated; the influence of his *Homer* on the poetry of his own age and that immediately following is yet another topic seldom considered by the critics. Finally, the

³ *The Poetical Career of Alexander Pope*, by Robert Kilburn Root. Princeton Univ. and O.U. Presses. pp. viii+248. 11s. 6d.

reader's attention may be specially directed to the comparison between *The Essay on Man* and *In Memoriam* as examples of 'moralized song', and to the whole treatment of satire as a poetic *genre* and its place in the hierarchy.

Vanessa and the Dean,⁴ by Lewis Gibbs, 'is the story of Esther Vanhomrigh told . . . in the form of a novel'—as Mrs. Woods told it once before, towards the close of the last century. It is a moving story and one which must make partisans among its readers who can never be certain that the threads have been finally unravelled. This version of the tale does full justice to Vanessa's tragic passion which it unveils with understanding and with sympathy. Perhaps it is not equally penetrating in its treatment of Swift—or perhaps it is the bias of the present writer which makes this appear to be so. For part of the irony of the tangled tale is that each one who peruses it is fated to lean towards one or other of the protagonists, and thus to lose his strict impartiality.

Gibbs has at any rate sifted all the evidence and knows whatever the authorities can teach him of the subject. And he knows also how to combine the facts and weld them into a biographical work which is of interest to the casual reader and of importance to the literary student.

*A Survey of Recent Studies of Swift*⁵ by H. Davis contains, as might be expected from so high an authority, full information on the subject—whether of editions, criticism, or interpretation. There are 42 entries in the bibliography, all of which are duly appraised in the text. Most of them have been sent for notice to *Y.W.*, though there are some regrettable omissions.

In *Boswell and the Girl from Botany Bay*⁶ Fredk. A. Pottle proves once more his skill at piecing together apparently irrelevant pieces of information. The book presents in epitome the editorial gifts which are shown at length in his edition of the Boswell Papers. Secondly it makes a genuine contribution to

⁴ *Vanessa and the Dean, the Ironic History of Esther Vanhomrigh and Jonathan Swift*, by Lewis Gibbs. Dent. pp. viii + 271. 10s. 6d.

⁵ *Recent Studies of Swift: A Survey*, by Herbert Davis. Reprinted from *The University of Toronto Quarterly*, vii. 2, Jan. 1938. pp. 15.

⁶ *Boswell and the Girl from Botany Bay*, by Fredk. A. Pottle. Heinemann. pp. xii + 44. 5s.

our understanding and appreciation of Boswell himself. For here we see him once more, as in his dealings with his poorer clients in the *Journals*, alert, sympathetic, and ceaselessly diligent in the service of those who are entirely unable to repay him for the time and trouble expended on them. Far from having 'irons in the fire' when he paid Mary Broad an instalment of her promised pension, Boswell was showing her the disinterested kindness which was characteristic of him and has nothing whatever to do with the desire for fame. His exertions on her behalf and that of her male companions, coming as they do at the very end of his life, show him in the best light: the lawyer who helped unhappy convicts to freedom when no one else could be found to plead for them deserves to be remembered as a foil to the drunken profligate who has often come more quickly to the mind of Boswell's critics.

But apart from Boswell altogether, this account of life at Botany Bay and of the hairbreadth escape of the convicts and their voyage in an open boat is full of interest and excitement—and not less because it is recounted quite simply and without any appeal to the emotions. The reader will share Boswell's opinion that the four men and the woman who survived their adventures had fully earned the pardon which they finally obtained by his intervention.

In the brief space at our disposal it is not possible to give an adequate description of the contents of *William Blake's Circle of Destiny*⁷—a profound study by Milton O. Percival of the sources and interpretation of the Prophetic Books. Percival states his thesis in his first paragraph: 'I predict, then, that when the evidence is in, it will be found that in the use of tradition Blake exceeded Milton and was second, if to anyone, only to Dante.' And a little further on: '. . . he had a system . . . as logical and coherent as any of the metaphysical systems formulated by the poets.' Percival takes 'the prophetic writings as a single entity . . . [which] embrace[s] no fundamental inconsistencies. What have been taken as such are in the defects of interpretation'.

⁷ *William Blake's Circle of Destiny*, by Milton O. Percival. Columbia and O.U. Presses. pp. xii+334. 17s. 6d.

Percival has no difficulty in showing Blake's intimate acquaintance with his esoteric predecessors and that he has 'pondered the basic philosophical problems more deeply' than has often been acknowledged. 'Certain essentials of Blake's thought are found to be the familiar tenets of idealism: the conviction that appearances are not reality: that the findings of the rational mind alone are not sufficient, and that intuition is a prime source of knowledge.' But he goes much further than this in his insistence on the universal permeation of the material by the spiritual and on the subordination of the temporal to the eternal.

'The outward way of life, the way of a world shut up in corporeal desires . . . dominated by the selfhood. In contrast to this is the inward way, relying upon imagination and resulting in social brotherhood.' 'Selfhood—the potential devil in us—is an ever present danger', and can never completely be overcome. On the other hand, 'the principle of unity in the world is as strong as the principle of separation', and by constantly renewed self-surrender—not self-suppression—and through the liberation of the Energy which is the 'only life', the Selfhood may recreate itself in a nearer union with the central principle that is the source of being. This belief in recurrent 'self-annihilation' as the way to eternity is shown to be the core of Blake's system. 'The ideal world is therefore a world of constant change, permanent only in the ceaseless activity of the imagination.'

We have touched only on the conclusion of Percival's exegesis of Blake's thought. He has much also to say of the poet's myth and of its symbols, and the book, which helps to a deeper understanding of Blake's genius, must be read as a whole if it is properly to be appreciated.

A. B. Tourtelott's life of Fanny Burney deserves a less catchpenny title than the one which has been chosen for it, yet *Be Loved No More*⁸ aptly epitomizes the attitude of the author, whose style and manner suffer from his attempt to represent not only his heroine, but all his characters and

⁸ *Be Loved No More: The Life and Environment of Fanny Burney*, by Arthur Bernon Tourtellot. pp. 382. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

material, in a quasi-sentimental fashion which is probably intended to make the book more readable. It contains nevertheless all the essential facts of Fanny Burney's life and gives a sufficiently adequate portrayal of her environment. Literary criticism is not part of the writer's object and if—inevitably—he does not produce as lively a work as the *Diaries and Letters*, at least he has managed to compress their contents within a single volume without neglecting the latter part which is sometimes rather cursorily treated by those who are more interested in the author than the woman. Nor will the casual reader quarrel with the estimates of the other personages who appear in his pages, or with the sometimes questionable generalizations about the eighteenth century and the Victorian age. The book is not for scholars and should not be judged by their standards.

Lodwick C. Hartley's study of Cowper⁹ 'attempts to demonstrate the vitality of [his] thought by presenting his poetry against the rich and dramatic background of eighteenth century humanitarian activity'. He allows the poet to speak for himself on subjects varying 'from the abolition of slavery to the humane treatment of animals', and subordinates biographical facts to Cowper's attitude to social problems. Hartley's chapter titles, e.g. 'The Social Passions Work', 'Pity for Poor Africans', 'God's Love for Pagan Lands', do not do justice to the solidity of his work which is on the whole free from the sentimentality they suggest. No doubt Cowper has been too often represented as the 'recluse of Olney', subject to recurrent attacks of madness, and it is well to see him for once as 'a citizen of the world'. Yet the fact remains that the two aspects must be combined if the real man is to be depicted, nor must his genuine humour be omitted from the picture. But within the limits he has set himself, Hartley has done a useful piece of work and established the truth of his contention that Cowper's 'isolation, of which much has been made, is more apparent than real'.

*The Ranting Dog*¹⁰ by John Lindsey, yet another biography

⁹ *William Cowper: Humanitarian*, by Lodwick C. Hartley. University of North Carolina and O.U. Presses. pp. xii + 278. 11s. 6d.

¹⁰ *The Ranting Dog: The Life of Robert Burns*, by John Lindsey. Chapman and Hall. pp. 402. 15s.

of Robert Burns, claims on the jacket to give 'the complete story of a great man's many-sided life'. It deals with him, so we are told, for the first time 'in all his aspects' both as author and as man. We confess that the book does not strike us by its originality in conception, while the style has the extravagance of a second-rate romance. In spite of a sentimentally 'sympathetic' treatment, there is much too much insistence on the drunken 'ranting dog' business, much too little of the real cause of Burns's death as established by Crichton-Browne (whose admirable account of it is not even named in the bibliography). Nor does the literary criticism, in spite of its appreciative tone and its treatment of the satires as well as of the songs, really go very far in its analysis.

The current number of the *Burns Chronicle*¹¹ contains nothing of outstanding interest, the chief articles being Part IV of the *Correspondence of John Syme and Alexander Cunningham 1789-1811* and accounts of Burns's tours in Galloway in 1793.

*John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism*¹² by M. Piette, a Franciscan friar who is a Professor of History at Brussels, was written in French in 1925, and is now introduced to English readers by an American Catholic Bishop and by Dr. Workman of Westminster (Methodist) College in a translation by J. B. Howard. Since the book is not new, it requires no long notice, but two things should nevertheless be emphasized. It is a work of profound scholarship, unmarred by the sectarian bias which might so easily have vitiated its conclusions. Secondly, Wesley's achievement is related to the whole movement for reform and Protestantism, from Zwingli and Luther and Calvin and their repercussions on religious thought, through the various 'Dissident Sects of the Eighteenth Century' up to the Methodist revival itself. It must suffice to say here that every serious student of the 'evolution of Protestantism' must consult this learned discussion of the subject. In its English version it shows no signs of its foreign origin: the translation is excellently done.

¹¹ *Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*. Second Series: Vol. XIII. The Burns Federation, Kilmarnock. pp. viii+182. 3s.

¹² *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism*, by Maximin Piette; trans. by J. B. Howard. Sheed and Ward. pp. xlviii+576. 18s.

*England before and after Wesley*¹³ is the work of a hero-worshipper, who, though as he tells us, not himself a Methodist, is so far affected by his enthusiasm as to see in Wesley the chief source of the spiritual, moral, and material improvement which developed in nineteenth-century England as contrasted with the preceding age. Bready examines in considerable detail prevailing conditions before and during Wesley's lifetime and gives chapter and verse for both his statements and his conclusions; he also supports his opinions by quoting those of various distinguished historians of the period under review. 'This is not merely a life of Wesley: it is the history of an epochal movement, of which Wesley was the master-figure.' This conception explains the plan of the book, which begins with nearly two hundred pages of description of the religious and social life of the eighteenth century before 'the emergence of a prophet'. Part II deals with Wesley's 'crusade', his 'reassertion of the Christian ethic', 'preaching of social righteousness', and attitude to various aspects of social intercourse. Part III, 'Some Fruits of Faith', relates such things as the abolition of slavery, the beginnings of popular education, the reform of the prison system and of the penal code to Wesley's teaching and preaching. Not all Bready's readers will share his attitude either to religion or to his hero. But all of them will be constrained to agree that his case is argued with extensive erudition and cannot be upset unless by those who bring similar detailed knowledge to the discussion of the subjects treated.

*Wesley's England*¹⁴ is a misleading title for J. H. Whiteley's book which is far better described by its sub-title, for except in the foreword and first chapter and in the last few pages there is very little mention of Wesley. Indeed the *Wesley Index* (the only index included) occupies but two sides, by no means closely printed, and this in a volume of 380 pp. As a general popular survey of social conditions in the eighteenth century the book suffices, though it would be more satisfactory if it did not attempt to be so exhaustive in subject-matter. As it is,

¹³ *England before and after Wesley*, by J. Wesley Bready. Hodder and Stoughton. pp. 464. 10s. 6d.

¹⁴ *Wesley's England: A Survey of XVIIIth Century Social and Cultural Conditions*, by J. H. Whiteley. Epworth Press. pp. 380. 10s. 6d.

the author is led to make some very disputable generalizations while, naturally, he cannot be equally conversant with every aspect of his subject from religion to language, and from class contacts to literature. To take examples from the last-mentioned, readers of the *Y.W.* may well question such unqualified statements as that 'distress and poverty made a Johnson reckless and ungovernable' or that 'In (Wesley's) youth, the old French classical school of thought and expression remained supreme and culminated in Pope' (this is almost the only reference to Pope), or in the language section, that 'The medial *t* was apparently ignored in *glisten*, *often*, *listen*, *thistle*, . . . *waistcoat*' (as if it were not similarly 'ignored' in standard English of to-day). But statements of the kind may be found in almost every chapter, while the book as a whole is a compilation from authorities rather than the outcome of original investigation or knowledge.

Douglas MacMillan's *Drury Lane Calendar*¹⁵ consists of a list of performances during the management of David Garrick of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, from 15 September 1747 to 10 June 1776. Part I gives a Calendar of the performances, Part II an Alphabetical List of Plays. The calendar is based upon the Kemble-Devonshire Collection of Playbills in the Huntington Library, which covers the years 1751 to 1782, with some omissions: from the season 1758-9 onwards there are manuscript notes in Kemble's handwriting which are for the most part transcriptions from the diaries of two prompters, Cross and Hopkins, but also include notes of receipts for the night. MacMillan completes his calendar from the files of the *General Advertiser* and the *Public Advertiser*, and has compared the whole with the record in Genest's *Account of the English Stage*. Part I includes the farce or other afterpiece of the day as well as the play, while Part II consists of the titles and authors, together with a chronological record of performances and casts, as complete as possible. The Introduction consists of a sketch of Garrick's management of Drury Lane.

¹⁵ *Drury Lane Calendar 1747-1776*, compiled from the Playbills and ed. by Douglas MacMillan. Huntington Library and O.U.P. pp. xxxiv+364. 21s.

It is of course impossible to check the accuracy of MacMillan's compilation without doing his work over again, but as far as it is to be judged by a cursory examination, the task has been well and faithfully performed. It must have been most laborious, but the result achieved is of first-rate value to all students of the English theatre, and MacMillan is to be congratulated on his accomplishment of a very useful bit of research, presented with equal typographical skill by the Oxford printers.

*Persons and Periods*¹⁶ collects a number of essays—most of which have been previously published though they appear now in a revised form—‘dealing mainly with social change in England since the beginning of the eighteenth century’. Varied as are the original sources, the studies that fall within the scope of this section combine naturally into a single volume. The essay on Daniel Defoe, with which the book opens, is refreshingly just in its treatment of a much-maligned man, whose public life, as Cole puts it, ‘was of the times, dusty; but not dustier than the rest’. ‘It is ridiculous to judge men out of the standards of their time’, and in any case what matters to posterity is that ‘having largely created English journalism’, Defoe went on to ‘create in fiction the sense of reality in the reader’s mind’, the ‘naturalism in story-telling’ which paved the way for the novel. ‘Defoe’s England’, originally written as a preface to the *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, emphasizes Defoe’s interest in social and economic conditions, and the consequent importance of this work as an historical record. This essay leads naturally to Cole’s own studies of ‘Town Life in the Eighteenth Century’, ‘London—One-Fifth of England’, and ‘Roads, Rivers and Canals’, which are distinguished not only by wide knowledge of facts but also by the power to combine them into a convincing picture. ‘For the study of the great writers and thinkers of the past, historical imagination is the first necessity.’ With these words Cole opens his essay on ‘Rousseau’s Social Contract’: the whole volume, whether he is dealing with the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, shows that he possesses this gift and the strength that is derived from it.

¹⁶ *Persons and Periods*, by G. D. H. Cole. Macmillan. pp. viii + 334. 12s. 6d.

*The Polite Marriage*¹⁷ and other essays by J. M. Tompkins makes no claim to be a learned piece of research: none the less these delvings into the works and lives of various minor literary worthies of the eighteenth century do not need the author's assertion of her pleasure when 'from brownish print and yellow pages [she] first become[s] aware . . . of what was once a living voice'. This book is redolent of genuine scholarship and delight in the byways of the past, and it is so written that the reader inevitably derives enjoyment from these records of forgotten personalities. The strange courtship of Henry and Frances (Richard and Elizabeth Griffith) as depicted in 'A Series of Genuine Letters' blossoms anew into the polite marriage in which 'good breeding is absolutely necessary to keep the most delicate affections alive'. 'The Didactic Lyre' of Hugh Downman, the much bepraised 'Bristol Milkwoman', Ann Yearsley, 'The Scotch Parents' who wrenched their daughter from her lover's arms, 'Clio in Motley' as displayed in the strange novels of James White, 'Mary Hays, Philosophess' and sentimentalist—these are the subjects of the other essays in a volume which will be of value both to students and dabblers in literary history.

In the lectures published under the title *Painter and Poet*,¹⁸ with a view to the needs of the layman and with no pretensions to art-criticism, C. B. Tinker writes of the relations of pictures to poetry in the eighteenth century. Tinker's main interest is that of the historian of literature who finds sidelights on his subject in contemporary art, and he deals with pictures as they appeal to the ordinary man, not to the professional artist.

Taking Hogarth, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Blake, Wilson, Turner, and Constable as his examples, he has no difficulty in illustrating such things as 'the humanitarian impulse', 'romantic tendencies', 'return to nature', or 'the Italian tradition' in their works, and he makes some useful notes on the apparent

¹⁷ *The Polite Marriage: Eighteenth-century Essays*, by J. M. S. Tompkins. C.U.P. pp. viii+210. 10s. 6d.

¹⁸ *Painter and Poet: Studies in the Literary Relations of English Painting*, the Charles Eliot Norton Lectures for 1937-1938, by Chauncey Brewster Tinker. Harvard Univ. and O.U. Presses. pp. 196. 19s.

suggestions given to the painters by the writings of contemporary poets. Sometimes quotations by the artists in catalogue-titles indicate the source of their themes ; more often the connexion is less obvious, and Tinker's wide reading enables him to point to passages not so easily to be tracked by the average spectator. Of greater value than particular instances of this kind is the way in which popular ideas, interests, and ways of thought are shown to appear and reappear in art as in literature, and though these lectures do not pretend to delve very deep or to cover new and original ground, they must certainly have been stimulating when delivered to a student audience and should prove of equal interest to a wider circle of readers.

It is a matter of regret that the illustrations essential to the elucidation of the text are so unsatisfactory that often it is difficult to discover in them the various features mentioned by the author (see, e.g., the Blake Vignettes, pp. 108-9).

If the earlier volumes of John Byng's *Tours*¹⁹ (which were not sent for notice in *Y.W.*) were as attractive as volume iv, the word 'fascination' on the publisher's blurb is no misnomer. Indeed the General Index, which covers nearly 100 pp., suggests that all the volumes are full of interest and of real importance to students of bygone England. The writer is a delightful companion, interested in everything and everybody, with genuine feeling for scenery and the capacity to reproduce it in water-colour as well as in words.

Violet Biddulph has compiled a vivid picture of fashionable life with *The Three Ladies Waldegrave and their Mother*²⁰ in the foreground and about them many of their satellites and admirers. Royalties figure prominently in the scene, but so do such important subjects as the Walpoles and Nelson, and the book is illustrated by reproductions of portraits by Reynolds, Gainsborough, and Angelica Kauffmann, to name only the best

¹⁹ *The Torrington Diaries, Volume IV, concluding the tours through England and Wales between the years 1781 and 1794 of the Hon. John Byng, later 5th Viscount Torrington*, ed. by C. Bruyn Andrews. Eyre and Spottiswoode. pp. xiv+274. 18s.

²⁰ *The Three Ladies Waldegrave and their Mother*, by Violet Biddulph. Davies. pp. 352. 15s.

known. Miss Biddulph has derived her information chiefly from Horace Walpole's letters to and about his great-nieces, but she has also used many other sources, public and private, with the result that her book is a genuine contribution to the knowledge of certain aspects of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Georg Christoph Lichtenberg,²¹ physicist, critic, and man of letters, visited England in 1770 and again in 1774-5, and his letters throw a good deal of light on English life, in humble as well as in scientific and fashionable circles. At the same time they are of great interest in their revelation of the German attitude to this country and its liberties as contrasted with conditions at home, even in Hanover which was governed by the same sovereign. Margaret Mare and W. H. Quarrell have performed a useful task, for as P. E. Matheson said in his Tylor Lecture, 1930, Lichtenberg is a distinguished writer, whose 'acuteness of intellect . . . range of knowledge and interest make him a significant figure in the social and scientific intercourse between Germany and England' at the end of the eighteenth century.

*The English Country Squire*²² of prose fiction in the second half of the eighteenth century is described and analysed by K. C. Slagle with all the industry befitting a doctoral dissertation. An historical sketch of some ten pages covers his metamorphosis from Anglo-Saxon times to the period under review, and the writer proceeds to define what is meant by the term *squire*, to examine his education, house and gardens, his occupations, manners, customs, opinions, religion, politics, &c. It is all very painstaking and leads to conclusions which may be guessed by anyone at all conversant with the novel of the time.

It is pleasant to note the second edition, revised and enlarged,

²¹ *Lichtenberg's Visit to England as described in his Letters and Diaries*, trans. and ed. by Margaret L. Mare and W. H. Quarrell. O.U.P. pp. xxiv + 130. 7s. 6d.

²² *The English Country Squire as depicted in English Prose Fiction from 1740 to 1800*, by Kenneth Chester Slagle. Univ. of Pennsylvania and O.U. Presses. pp. 150.

of Part III of the *History of Everyday Things in England*²³ (see Y.W. xiv. 307), though it reminds us of the passing of one of its authors, C. H. B. Quennell. The *History* is a lasting monument to the labours of him and his wife, who have done so much to make the past a living interest to the present generation.

Georges A. Bonnard published a *Note on the English Translations of Crousaz' Two Books on Pope's 'Essay on Man'* in the *Recueil de Travaux* in honour of the fourth centenary of the University of Lausanne in 1937. The offprint of Bonnard's contribution runs only to some ten pages but it is of importance. The attacks on Pope's *Essay* which Crousaz launched in his *Examen* and *Commentaire* were published in 1737 and 1738. They were translated into English almost at once, the *Examen* by Elizabeth Carter whose version appeared in 1739, and the *Commentaire* by one Charles Forman with a preface by his publisher, Curll. None of these names appeared in print. At the end of Miss Carter's accurate and creditable translation of the *Examen* there appeared an advertisement of another translation of the *Commentaire*, though this was not actually published until 1741. It is complete, which is not the case with Forman's, and it also contains a line-by-line version of the French prose rendering of Pope's poem, thus showing its divergence from the original. The author Du Resnel is also adversely criticized in the notes for his 'miserable Version'. Johnson was responsible for this second translation, and Bonnard differs from Powell in considering that Johnson's personal touch is discernible in the style as contrasted with the insipidity of Forman.

Dorothy Margaret Stuart writes in *English* (ii. 7) on *Some Unpublished Letters of John, Lord Hervey, and Dr. Conyers Middleton*, namely 115 letters, dated between June 1733 and August 1737, and now in the possession of the Marquis of Bristol at Ickworth. The article throws some light on unsuspected aspects of Lord Fanny, 'the bug with gilded wings'.

²³ *A History of Everyday Things in England. Part III. 1733-1851*, 2nd edition, by Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell. Batsford. pp. xiv + 226. 8s. 6d.

English Studies (Feb.) contains an article by S. T. Brown entitled *Dr. Johnson and the Religious Problem* which deals with his relation to the main trend of thought in his day. In Oct., to the same journal, S. G. Brown contributes *Observations on Hume's Theory of Taste*.

In *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxiii, L. F. Powell compares Boswell's *Original Journal of his Tour to the Hebrides and the Printed Version*. He illustrates the differences between them and concludes that the changes 'were necessarily expedient, and I think, generally justifiable: they were made with great skill and judgement' (see also *Y.W.* xvii. 208-9). To the same volume Leonard Whibley contributes *Notes on Two Manuscripts of Thomas Gray*: (1) two pages in the Harvard College Library of Gray's Chronological Tables of Greek History, on which he was engaged in Dec. 1746; (2) an autograph manuscript (now belonging to Mr. J. W. Garrett of Baltimore) of the poem *A Long Story* which 'must have been Gray's fair copy (there is only one correction in it) written as soon as he had finished the composition'.

Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, vol. xix, has an article by R. J. Allen entitled *Swift's Earliest Poetical Tract and Sir William Temple's Essays*.

In *J.E.G.P.* (Apr.), J. W. Draper writes on *The Theory of the Comic in Eighteenth-Century England*, a subject which has hitherto been neglected by modern critics. Draper endeavours in his article 'to trace through the century the chief concepts of the comic' and of the theories relating to its proper subject-matter.

T. W. Copeland has a note in *The Library* (Mar.) on *Burke's Vindication of Natural Society*; Lord Rothschild discusses *The Publication of the First Drapier Letter*; and L. F. Powell has an article (Sept.) on *The Tours of Thomas Pennant*, and G. Keynes a note on *The Library of Edward Gibbon*; and W. F. Trench and K. B. Garrett write (Dec.) *On Swift's Marginalia in a copy of Macky's Memoirs* and R. F. Metzdorf has a *Supplementary Note on Johnson's Plan of a Dictionary*.

In *M.L.N.* (Jan.) Edith S. Krappe notes *A Lapsus Calami of Jonathan Swift*; A. Friedman writes (Mar.) on *Goldsmith and the Marquis d'Argens*; E. L. Avery (Apr.) on *Cibber, 'King John' and*

the Students of the Law and L. Bradner on *An Earlier Text of Addison's Ode to Dr. Hannes*; R. T. Fitzhugh (Nov.) on *Burns at Ellisland*; R. C. Boys (Dec.) on *Boswell on Spelling*.

In *M.L.R.* (Jan.) J. E. Wells shows that the three existing versions of *James Thomson's Poem 'On the Death of his Mother'*, with textual differences, indicate that the 11th Earl of Buchan had at least three copies of the poem in Thomson's handwriting. Wells also discusses *Thomson's 'Seasons', 1744: An Unnoticed Edition* in *Eng. Stud.* (vol. 72, 2).

N. and Q. contains the following on the dates specified: Jan. 8, *Boswell and Bishop Trail* by R. Warnock; Notes on *Chatterton: An Uncollected Poem* by T. O. Mabbott; Feb. 11, *The Ancestry of Daniel Defoe* by P. D. Mundy; Feb. 19, *Notes on Chatterton: A Poem attributed to him* by T. O. Mabbott; April 30, *Kitty Clive* by P. J. Crean; *Adam Smith and Burke* by Dixon Wecter; May 28, *Unrecorded Eighteenth Century Plays* by F. T. Wood; Oct. 15, *Addison's Purchase of Bilton Hall* by W. Graham; Dec. 10, *Two Notes on the Biography of Edmund Burke* by Dixon Wecter; *Thomson's Castle of Indolence: an alternative stanza* by J. E. Wells; Dec. 31, *An Uncollected Poem by George Crabbe* by W. H. Davenport.

In *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) an article by Wallace Cable Brown on *Prose Fiction and English Interest in the Near East, 1775-1825* establishes the close relationship between the novel and the travel-book, and the 'progressively realistic picture' given in oriental tales during the period in question. Dixon Wecter writes (Dec.) on *The Missing Years in Edmund Burke's Biography*, roughly from 1750 to 1758, which Morley refers to as 'enveloped in nearly complete obscurity'. Thanks to evidence of notebooks and scraps found among Burke's private papers at Wentworth and at Milton, Wecter has been able to some extent to throw light on both his life and his literary efforts during this period. In the same issue, Leo Shapiro deals briefly with *Lucretian Domestic Melancholy and the Tradition of Virgilian Frustration* in certain 17th and 18th century poets, while Herbert Drennon, in a paper on *James Thomson and John Norris*, shows Thomson's indebtedness to the earlier writer.

In *P. Q.* (Jan.) A. Friedman finds *The Immediate Occasion of*

Goldsmith's 'Citizen of The World', Letter XXXVIII in a reply to a letter by 'Anglo Britanus' in *Read's Weekly Journal*, 17 May 1760. John P. Emery prints *An Unpublished Letter from Arthur Murphy to Oliver Goldsmith concerning 'She Stoops to Conquer'*, written from Aylesbury on 2 March 1773, which he found in manuscript in a copy of Augustin Daly's *Woffington* in the Harvard Theatre Collection. I. R. Halsband identifies (Oct.) *The Poet of 'The North Briton'* as Robert Lloyd, quoting a letter from him to Wilkes, 22 Aug. 1762 (B.M. Add. MS. 30867), containing the first part of the verses 'The Poetry Professors' which appeared in *The North Briton* on 30 Oct. and 27 Nov. In the same number of *P.Q.* Alan D. McKillop describes *An Iconographic Poem on 'Tom Jones'* entitled *The Fan* (1749) in which the chief episodes of Fielding's novel are pictured on a lady's fan lost at an 'Assembly'. Jean B. Kern in *A Note on 'The Beggar's Opera'* points out that, though the quarrel between Peachum and Lockit doubtless refers to dissension between Walpole and Townsend, it cannot in 1727-8 have been aimed at the dispute between them at Mrs. Selwyn's in 1729.

E.L.H. (March) contains a detailed examination by Frances S. Miller of *The Historic Sense of Thomas Warton, Junior*, which proves and illustrates the realistic nature of his approach to medieval times, concluding that 'he shows very little imaginary, though plenty of imaginative, reconstruction of an actual past'. His genuine knowledge of the Middle Ages and his essentially antiquarian approach 'enabled him to use non-literary material in treating the history of literature', and, finally, to discover that a poet must 'be studied in relation to his environment and his era, not in a critical vacuum'.

Emmett L. Avery (June) writes on *The Defense and Criticism of Pantomimic Entertainments in the Early Eighteenth Century*; Denver E. Baughan (Sept.) has a short paper entitled *Swift's Source of the Houynhnms Reconsidered* which tries to establish that Sidney's account of Pugliano in *The Defence of Poesie* inspired Swift's choice of the horse as man's superior. In the same issue *Notes on the Life of John Dennis*, derived from information found mainly in the Record Office, are contributed by Fred S. Tupper. Varley Lang (Dec.) writes on *Crabbe and the*

Eighteenth Century and shows by numerous examples and references that it is quite untrue that pastoralism in England was killed by Gay's *Shepherd's Week*. On the contrary, it flourished in both England and Scotland, and Crabbe had many predecessors whose efforts to attain realism, naturalism, and humanism he emulated and improved upon. In his masterly treatment of character he shows the greatest advance, and even in satire is fair and truthful. Truth and accuracy of representation whether of man or of nature is for Crabbe the only essential justification of the choice of subject-matter.

In *R.E.S.* (Jan.) Alfred Jackson in an article on *The Stage and the Authorities, 1700-1714 (as Revealed in the Newspapers)* shows the various steps taken by the authorities to control and promote the morality of the theatres. In April, in the same journal, *Goldsmith's Critical Outlook* is examined by W. Vaughan Reynolds who illustrates the truth of his contention that Goldsmith's criticism was not haphazard but founded on a definite system. The July number contains *Four Letters from George Crabbe to Edmund Burke* by Dixon Wecter, not hitherto published, together with a survey of the whole correspondence. In Oct. Marjorie C. Hill has *A Note on the Sheffield edition of Gibbon's Autobiography* in which she maintains that Sheffield's alterations in the text 'may quite possibly' have been the result of attention to Gibbon's own wishes and statements about what should be suppressed when the work appeared in print. At any rate she holds that a detailed examination of the changes provides additional grounds for the belief that Sheffield's is the best edition of the autobiography.

Bishop Berkeley's Family is the subject of an article by W. Fraser Mitchell in *Theology* (May). It describes what he calls in his sub-title *An Eighteenth Century High Church Conversation Piece*—Mrs. Eliza Berkeley's editorial insertions in what purports to be an edition of the *Poems* (1797) of her late son George Monck Berkeley.

T.L.S. contains the following:—Jan. 1, *Richard Savage* by J. R. Sutherland; Jan. 22, *Johnson's Letters to Percy* by R. W.

Chapman; Feb. 12, *The Date of Ambrose Philips's Death* by A. Lyell Reade; Apr. 23, *Hailes and Johnson* by J. M. Osborn. June 18, *Defoe's Review* by H. Bergholz (July 30, Reply by A. W. Secord). June 25, *New Facts about Dr. Johnson* by F. R. Lewis. July 2, *A Letter from Dr. Johnson* by Dixon Wecter. July 23, *Fanny Burney meets Edmund Burke* by J. L. Clifford. July 30, *Chatterton and Kilburn Priory* by E. H. W. Meyerstein. Aug. 20, *An Englishman visits Voltaire* by F. R. Lewis. Oct. 1, *Letters of David Hume* by W. G. Maclagan. Dec. 17, *Ambrose Philips* by Lilian de la Torre Bueno (Dec. 31, Reply by M. G. Segar). Dec. 24, *Johnson's Shakespeare: A Study in Cancellation* by A. T. Hazen. Dec. 31, *The Hill-Powell Boswell* by R. W. Chapman.

XII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

I

By DOROTHY MARGARET STUART

WITH the exception of Scott and Coleridge no outstanding literary figure of this period was the subject of any major biography published in 1938, but to compensate for this comparative dearth there were a good many interesting books on writers less well known, and much valuable work was done in periodical form.

E. E. Kellett, in *Religion and Life in the Early Victorian Age*,¹ sketched with a firm touch the spiritual and material environment which shaped and coloured the Victorian mind. Literature figures only incidentally in a survey which is none the less of great interest to students and lovers of literature. To the student a more obvious appeal will be made by *English Prose of the Romantic Period*.² Part I is reserved for Major Writers, Part II for Minor Writings. Among the latter it is a little surprising to find Wordsworth's Preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* and Shelley's *Defence of Poetry*, but the editors have chosen their extracts with the nicest discrimination, and Hannah More, Miss Mitford, Fanny Burney, and Dorothy Wordsworth represent their sex to excellent purpose. The last seventeen pages are occupied with letters not quite so happily chosen.

Sir Herbert Grierson's *New Life of Scott*,³ correcting Lockhart's errors, and forming an indispensable appendix to the twelve-volume edition of Scott's letters, was one of the memorable achievements of the year. It neither sentimentalizes nor 'debunks' its hero, and it throws a great deal of new light upon such hitherto obscure subjects as Lady Scott's origin and the

¹ *Religion and Life in the Early Victorian Age*, by E. E. Kellett. Epworth Press. pp. 174. 5s.

² *English Prose of the Romantic Period*, ed. C. F. Macintyre and Maj. Ewing. New York: O.U.P. pp. 361. 12s. 6d.

³ *Sir Walter Scott, Bart. A New Life*, by H. J. C. Grierson. Constable. pp. x+220. 18s.

extent of Cadell's culpability in connexion with the Scott-Ballantyne crash. Ifor B. Evans reviewed it at length in *The Fortnightly* (Oct.). Grierson's shorter study, *Sir Walter Scott To-day*⁴ (reviewed by V. de S. Pinto in *English*, ii. 9, and by Sir Hugh Walpole in *T.L.S.*, April 30), was a welcome reissue.

In violent contrast to the astringent quality of both these books is *Young Walter Scott*⁵ by Elizabeth J. Gray, in which an American author seeks to tell the story of Scott's youth 'in fullness of intimate detail'. Young or old, Scott would have had some difficulty in recognizing himself or his environment in this softly tinted artificial light. It is a book for readers themselves youthful either in mentality or in years, but the frontispiece, a hitherto unpublished early portrait, is an interesting addition to our knowledge.

In *T.L.S.* (Feb. 5) Alan Lang Strout identified John Wilson ('Christopher North') with the 'gentleman whose talents are of the highest order' mentioned in Scott's letter of 21 September 1817. A 'leader' on Grierson's *New Life* (Sept. 10) drew forth (Sept. 17) a letter from Donald Carswell, inquiring what books the 'leader'-writer had in mind when writing of 'the debunking school of biography' in relation to Scott. W. M. Parker reiterated (Oct. 1) his appeal (*T.L.S.*, March, 1937) for a revised and enlarged edition of Lockhart's *Life*.

To *M.L.R.* (Jan.) Duncan M. Mennie contributed an article on the Abbotsford MSS. of Scott's translations of German plays, tracing the influence of *Fust von Stromberg* on *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* and *Marmion*. The theory that Carducci was indebted to *The Lady of the Lake* for some of the images in his *Odi Barbare* was developed by Joseph Rossi in *M.L.N.* (April).

The death at Selkirk of a great-nephew of Scott's coachman, Peter Mathieson, is recorded in *N. and Q.* (Jan. 8), and on the same date W. W. Grill replied to a previous query (clxxiv. 46) as to the Gaelic spelling in Scott's writings. Prebendary

⁴ *Sir Walter Scott To-day*, by H. J. C. Grierson. Constable. pp. 206. 8s. (Reissue.)

⁵ *Young Walter Scott*, by Elizabeth Janet Gray. Nelson. pp. 239. 5s.

Lawrence Phillips tabulated seven queries concerning the *Bride of Lammermoor* (April 2), of which two were answered in the same issue and others on 16 and 30 April; and a further ten, on obscure points in *Rob Roy* (Nov. 26). Scott's allusion to 'the Swiss language' in *Anne of Geierstein* was commented on (July 2) by 'Senex' and defended by L. R. M. Strachan (July 16). An error in *Quentin Durward* was pointed out by Vernon Rendall (*T.L.S.*, April 30), Chapter XXVI being shown to contradict Chapter XVIII as to the route taken by Durward and the two ladies along the valley of the Maes. J. W. F. sought information (July 23) about Sir Walter's friend Mrs. Fawcett and her 'literary brother' (Henry Weber), receiving it from V. R. (Sept. 10), and his 'pure and exalted devotion' to Wellington was the subject of a long note by T. Percy Armstrong (July 30). H. G. Howarth demonstrated (Oct. 15) that Scott's oft-quoted praise of *Ae Fond Kiss*—'the essence of a thousand love-songs'—is borrowed from *Tristram Shandy*, Book VIII, Chapter 22. In J. G. Tait's pamphlet, *Sir Walter Scott's 'Journal' and Its Editor*,⁶ the editorial deficiencies of David Douglas are vigorously set forth, and a strong plea is entered for a new and more faithful edition of the *Journal*.

John Gibson Lockhart was the subject of three interesting articles by A. L. Strout in *N. and Q.* The first (Oct. 15) dealt with Lockhart's association with *Blackwood's Magazine*, and gave examples of contemporary opinion, favourable and otherwise; the second (Oct. 22 and 29) contained, *inter alia*, twenty hitherto unpublished letters of Lockhart's, of unequal value; and the third (Dec. 3) analysed Lockhart's revisions of his own novels, on the grounds that such revisions 'should afford us some idea of the moral demands of the earlier nineteenth century'. Strout also contributed an article to *N. and Q.* (April 2) on James Hogg, with especial reference to two letters from Hogg to Jeffrey, *Blackwood's* (Oct. 1820), collated with unpublished letters in the National Library of Scotland.

One of the best books on Jane Austen which has been pub-

⁶ *Sir Walter Scott's 'Journal' and Its Editor*, by J. G. Tait. Oliver and Boyd. pp. 36. 1s. 6d.

lished of late years is *Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries*, by Mona Wilson. The seven contemporaries include Mary Somerville, Anne Woodroffe, Mary Martha Butt, and Harriet Grote. All are admirably handled, and the section devoted to Miss Austen herself is remarkably fresh and stimulating. In a rather different category is *Jane Austen*⁸ by Elizabeth Jenkins, claimed to be 'the first full-length story of Jane's life in chronological order'. Richard Austen-Leigh's authoritative work is certainly chronological, but it is also out of print and not easy to obtain, which leaves room for a good straightforward biography by some critic who is also a 'Janeite'. Elizabeth Jenkins is a 'Janeite', but she is not an experienced critic, and her knowledge of the period is a little patchy, e.g. the passage on 'Sir' Horace Walpole, the Gothic revival, and Strawberry Hill. The absence of an index and the elusiveness of the dates detract from the usefulness of a study which would none the less serve as a pleasant introduction to the novels—if these were not already known to the reader. *English* (ii. 9) contained an interesting article by Laura M. Ragg on *What Jane Austen Read*.

Wordsworth was honoured by no critical or biographical study in book form during 1938, but he and his sister were made the central figures in a romance *à la* Maupassant,⁹ and he received much attention in learned journals and reviews.

Ifor B. Evans recorded the discovery of a manuscript (dated 1826) of a translation of a Michelangelo sonnet printed by Richard Duppa and Quatremere de Quincey and ascribed to Wordsworth (*T.L.S.*, March 12). This letter links up in an interesting manner with an article by Kenneth Curry (*R.E.S.*, April) dealing with the translations made by Wordsworth and Southey at the request of Richard Duppa for inclusion in his *Life and Works of Michelangelo Buonarroti*, 1806, with examples from both poet-translators. The date of Wordsworth's transla-

⁷ *Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries*, by Mona Wilson. Cresset Press. pp. 304. 10s. 6d.

⁸ *Jane Austen: A Biography*, by Elizabeth Jenkins. Gollancz. pp. 350. 15s.

⁹ *William and Dorothy*, by Helen Ashton. pp. 416. Collins. 8s. 6d.

tion of the Vicomte de Ségur's *Éducation de l'Amour* is fixed as 'before 1791' by Francis Christensen (*M.L.N.*, April), and the dates of its printing and publication as 1796 and 1802 respectively.

A. L. Strout pointed out (*T.L.S.*, July 16) that the articles in *Blackwood's Magazine* at the end of 1829, marking 'the turn of the tide in Wordsworth's favour', were written not by 'Christopher North' but by Chauncey Hare Townshend. Ernest de Selincourt (*T.L.S.*, Nov. 12) suggested that some lines from an *Address to Silence* transcribed by Dorothy Wordsworth may have been the source of the famous phrase 'our noisy years'. An article by Denys Sutton (*N. and Q.*, Feb. 26), containing three unpublished letters from Joanna Baillie, gives incidentally a glimpse of the Wordsworths at Hampstead in November–December 1820. The same writer urged (Aug. 27) that a volume of letters chosen from among Wordsworth's correspondents would form 'an instructive companion' to de Selincourt's *Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, and gave in the same article extracts from unpublished letters from Sir George and Lady Beaumont at Dove Cottage. Wordsworth's participation (against Brougham) in the Westmorland election of July 1818 was the subject of an article by A. L. Strout (*N. and Q.*, May 28), showing incidentally how Brougham's attacks on the poet compelled Wordsworth to 'preserve the balance' by purchasing freeholds later allotted to friends and relatives; a further note (June 4) had special reference to the championship of Brougham by Thomas Clarkson, the abolitionist friend of the Lake poets; and a supplementary letter from Strout (June 11) concerned, *inter alia*, Wordsworth's contributions to the *Westmorland Gazette* under the editorship of Thomas de Quincey.

An article by G. G. L. (*N. and Q.*, Oct. 22) on *The Meaning of Poetry* contained examples from the works of Wordsworth, as well as from those of Campbell, Byron, Shelley, and Tennyson. John Edwin Wells contributed to *P.M.L.A.* (March) an article of considerable bibliographical and typographical interest on the cancel-leaves of the 1800 edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, and *M.L.R.* (July) contained some observations on the same subject

by Robert W. Daniel. The *P.M.L.A.* article drew forth a note in *N. and Q.* (May 14), when the same group of notes contained one on the metaphorical use of 'pansy' by Wordsworth, Lamb, and others. 'Senex' contributed an interesting study of the *Elegiac Stanzas* to *N. and Q.* (Aug. 20), with special reference to 'the light that never was on sea or land'.

In *R.E.S.* (April) Herbert Hartman essays to trace the source of the 'Lapland night' image in Wordsworth's lines *To a Young Lady who had been Reproached for Taking Long Walks in the Country*, and suggests *Winter* in Thomson's *Seasons*, René L. de Maupertius's *Figure of the Earth* (used by Coleridge in *The Destiny of Nations*, 1796), and A. S. Cottle's translations of Icelandic poetry, 1797. Another line of research into Wordsworthian sources was pursued by George R. Potter in an article (*P.Q.*, July) on Wordsworth and the *Traité Élémentaire de Chimie* of Lavoisier, with special reference to *The Excursion*, Book IV, lines 941 ff. *The Influence of the Popular Ballad on Wordsworth's Poetry* was defined by Paul G. Brewster (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.), with illustrative examples from *The Prelude*, *Excursion*, *White Doe of Rylstone*, &c.

H. W. Garrod's *Wordsworth: Lectures and Essays*, 1927, forms the starting-point of an article by Bennet Weaver (*S. in Ph.*, July) entitled *Wordsworth: Forms and Images*. The writer lays it down that 'the mind comes to a height at which it rejects the dominance of form', and that 'about himself the mature poet comes to make his own world'. Quotations in support of these propositions are taken mainly from the *Prelude*. Curtis B. Bradford puts forward some stimulating suggestions in *Wordsworth's 'White Doe of Rylstone' and Related Poems* (*Mod. Phil.*, May). He shows that *The White Doe*, the *Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle*, and *The Force of Prayer* 'were built up, just as Scott's poems were, by a close study of antiquarian books'. Bradford's supporting evidence may be commended to those critics who persist in regarding Wordsworth as either remote from, or insensitive to, the 'Wardour Street' influences of the Romantic Revival.

In 1938 pride of place among the Lake Poets was given to

Coleridge. Two books of great interest and real value were devoted to him, one¹⁰ limited roughly to the first three decades of his life, the other dealing with its whole span. How closely packed with detail is Laurence Hanson's *Early Years* may be gathered from the fact that, exclusive of bibliography, notes, and index, it fills 416 pages. Much of the ground has already been covered, though more lightly, in J. Charpentier's *Coleridge the Sublime Somnambulist*, of which the English version was noticed in *Y.W.* x. 324-5, but this biographer has had access to a good deal of new material, and he has used it with diligence, scrupulosity, and judgement. The book, in spite of certain defects of style and presentation, will be indispensable to the scholar and student of Coleridge, for whom it is 'primarily intended'; and the plan of setting opposite each of the ten illustrations a selection from relevant contemporary comments is one to be commended to iconographers.

Few readers will be found to dissent from Hanson's view that his hero 'alike as friend, husband, father, poet, critic, philosopher, and conversationalist, remains without parallel'; and agreement will be confirmed by the perusal of Sir E. K. Chambers's admirable *Biographical Study*,¹¹ based also in part upon original Coleridge MSS. in the possession of the Rev. G. H. B. Coleridge and others. As this *Study* is concerned rather with the poet's character and personality than with his poetry, it gives full prominence to those idiosyncrasies, most of them harmless but not all of them amiable, with which that character was chequered. Yet, as a reviewer in *N. and Q.* (Dec. 24) observed, from this 'penetrating and yet sympathetic account there does emerge something more and better than the mere helpless and hopeless opium-befogged man which is apt to be the chief image of Coleridge—at any rate before his retirement to Highgate'. The picture given of the sage of Highgate in the last chapters is probably the most faithful as well as the most merciful that will ever be traced.

Both Chambers and Hanson emphasize the importance of the

¹⁰ *The Life of S. T. Coleridge: The Early Years*, by Laurence Hanson. Allen and Unwin. pp. 575. 21s.

¹¹ *Samuel Taylor Coleridge: A Biographical Study*, by E. K. Chambers. O.U.P. pp. 373. 18s.

part played in Coleridge's life by 'the rise and fall of his many friendships', and up to 1800, when the *Early Years* comes to a close, the two books constantly and inevitably overlap. A most useful Table of References is given at the beginning of the *Biographical Study*, and it ends with a 23-page Appendix of unpublished letters. 'So Coleridge passed,' concludes Sir Edmund, 'leaving a handful of golden poems, an emptiness in the heart of a few friends, and a will o' the wisp light for bemused thinkers.'

An attempt to capture that freakish flicker has been made by R. J. White.¹² A. D. Snyder made a similar attempt (*Y.W.* x. 324), confining himself to Coleridge's 'Logoi' on logic and learning, but one had hardly expected the quondam apostle of pantisocracy to be ranked as a political thinker whose thoughts merit serious attention. The mental processes of S. T. C. were apt to be fluid and formless, and no effort to canalize them is quite without interest; nor are 'bemused thinkers' less fond of will-o'-the-wisps now than they were a hundred years since. Margaret Sherwood approaches the poet from another angle in a pamphlet on *Coleridge's Imaginative Conception of the Imagination*,¹³ and puts into brief form 'the central ideas of Coleridge's theory of the nature and the working of the imagination', studying 'the logic relationship of idea rather than the chronological order of his statements'. She stresses the Platonic and Neoplatonic influences already operative in his Bluecoat days, with special reference to Plotinus. (Cf. Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 137, 301-2.)

Number XXVII of the Cornell Studies in English¹⁴ is an admirable contribution to our knowledge of Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Sara herself. Divided into four sections, it contains a reprint of Reed's article, *The Daughter of Coleridge*, in *The Literary World* (Aug. 21, 1852); her letters to him, 1849-51; her

¹² *The Political Thought of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, by R. J. White. Cape. pp. 272. 8s. 6d.

¹³ *Coleridge's Imaginative Conception of the Imagination*, by Margaret Sherwood. Wellesley, Mass., Hathaway House Bookshop. pp. 47. (1937.)

¹⁴ *Sara Coleridge and Henry Reed* (Cornell Studies in English, XXVII), by Leslie Nathan Broughton. Cornell U.P. and O.U.P. pp. xv+117. 7s.

comments on his *Memoir of Thomas Gray*; and her marginalia in Henry Crabb Robinson's copy of *The Memoirs of William Wordsworth*. It is a little unfortunate that such material should not have been published in time to be available to Chambers when writing the *Biographical Study*.

Lewis Patton contributed a letter to *T.L.S.* (Sept. 3) on the Coleridge Canon, more especially the poems published in the *Watchman*, and B. R. Davis 'followed through' (Sept. 10), with a letter concerned mainly with Southey's sonnet, *On Bala Hill*. Charles R. Sanders had an article in *P.M.L.A.* (March) showing Frederick Denison Maurice as the interpreter and defender of Coleridge, and as finding in the teaching of the poet 'food for his own mind, and truth confirmed by experience'.

In *P.M.L.A.* (June) was an interesting article by Donald R. Tuttle, '*Christabel*' Sources in '*Percy's Reliques*' and Gothic Romance, rebuffing the statement of J. L. Lowes in *The Road to Xanadu* that *Christabel* was evolved 'from sources entirely remote from his other studies of the time', suggesting Percy's *Reliques*, 'Monk' Lewis, Mrs. Radcliffe, and Mrs. Robinson as possible sources, and noting textual analogies between *Christabel* and *Sir Cauline*, *The Childe of Elle*, and *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.

Apropos of Mrs. Radcliffe another article in the June *P.M.L.A.* should be noted—*The Romantic Debate in the French Daily Press of 1809* by D. H. Canahan. It contains some interesting French comments on the horrific novels of Ann Radcliffe, who is described as being 'exactement à Richardson ce que Shakespeare est à Racine'.

Southey's *Life of Wesley* was the subject of a query and a note (*N. & Q.*, Sept. 3 and 17). 'Y' was puzzled by the circumstance that the *Oxford Companion to English Literature* under 'Southey' says this book was published in 1820; under 'Wesley' that it was published in 1821. L. R. M. Strachan, of Birmingham University, replied demonstrating that 1820 is the correct date, and pointing out that the same confusion has crept into *C.H.E.L.* (xi. 167 and 422).

A *T.L.S.* leader, *On Byron's Birthday: The Unburnt Auto-*

biography (Jan. 22), put forward the attractive suggestion that 'in the muniment room of some old country house there may lurk a transcript from one of the most remarkable literary documents of the nineteenth century—the *Memoirs* that Byron composed in Italy between 1819 and 1821', and which were believed to have been burned in John Murray's grate at Albemarle Street in May 1824. This drew from Mrs. A. K. Woodward a letter (Jan. 29) on that 'ridiculous *auto-da-fé*', in which she quoted from *Noctes Ambrosianae*, June 1824, the 'tantalizing statement' that the *Memoirs* had been 'copied for the private reading of a great lady in Florence'—a statement attributed by her to 'Odoherty, who was Maginn in real life'. She also gave extracts from Shelton Mackenzie's notes to the *Noctes*, with further particulars as to alleged transcripts.

A week later (*T.L.S.*, Feb. 5) Sir John Murray 'put in' a note from his great-grandfather, showing that 'the only copy ever made' was burned 'with the original MSS. in Albemarle Street'. Ralph M. Wardle, while supporting Mrs. Woodward's belief in the possible existence of copies of Byron's *Memoirs*, declared (March 19) that evidence examined by himself in the files of William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh, disproves the accepted theory that Maginn and 'Odoherty' were identical. Mrs. Woodward then made further comments on the evidence contained in the *Noctes* (April 9), and asked 'If *not* Maginn, who was Odoherty?'

Dame Una Pope-Hennessy had an interesting letter in *T.L.S.* (April 23) on the unidentified American whose visit to Byron at Missolonghi was recorded by Allibone, the lexicographer, and wonders if it is too late to hope that the notes from which he quoted may yet be traced.

N. and Q. contained during this year some half-dozen Byronic memorabilia, including a letter from R. G. Howarth (April 9) on literary allusions in Byron's letters, and reminiscences in them from Goldsmith, Pope, Young, and Shakespeare. On May 28 was printed an unpublished letter from Byron to Lord Erskine, dated 10 September 1823. Demetrius Caclamano contributed two papers (June 11, July 23) on *Some Byron Relics*, among them a cornelian ring and a lock of hair formerly

in the possession of the poet's Venetian man-servant Tita, and touched upon the tradition that Byron's heart was buried in Greece. A month later (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 20) S. P. Chew, Junior, wrote on *Some False Byrons* and the Byronic Apocrypha, but did not mention in the latter category Dr. John Polidori's lurid romance, *The Vampyre*. *Neophilologus*, volume xxiii (April 2), contained an interesting article by D. C. Hesseling on Byron in a modern Greek folk-song. In *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) there was an article by Wallace Cable Brown on *Prose Fiction and English Interest in the Near East, 1775-1825*. The writer considers that, thanks to the influence of Byron, Moore, and Southey, the oriental tale in English literature after 1800 lost its previous satirical or didactic character, and that the Near East then 'became important for its own glamorous reality'. Examples, *inter alia*, from Isaac D'Israeli (*Mejnoun and Leila*), Scott (*The Talisman*), Morier (*Hajji Baba*), and Thomas Hope (*Anastasis*), *E.L.H.*

Books on Shelley ranged from a slim volume scarcely larger than a pamphlet¹⁵ to a formidable tome¹⁶ nearly four hundred pages in length. The first of the three essays in the smaller study is by Edmund Blunden, and was written at the desire and with the help of Sir Michael Sadler. It deals with Shelley's expulsion from Oxford, and embodies the suggestion that the Master and Fellows of University College had 'some reason beyond what was officially charged against Shelley'. Blunden propounds a theory, based on a passage in Thornton Hunt's *Shelley By One Who Knew Him*, that 'Shelley at Oxford had some regrettable adventure with a woman of the street; and, if he did, some one in authority may easily have heard about it'. This is, as the writer confesses, 'glaringly hypothetical', but if the hypothesis be accepted, the authorities are exculpated from the charge of unreasonable rigour. Gavin de Beer's chapter deals, interestingly but a little inconclusively, with Shelley's description (afterwards erased by Byron) of himself—

¹⁵ *On Shelley*, by Edmund Blunden, Gavin de Beer, and Sylvia Norman. O.U.P. pp. 99. 5s.

¹⁶ *The Unextinguished Hearth: Shelley and his Contemporary Critics*, by Newman Ivey White. O.U.P., North Carolina. pp. xvi+397. \$3.

in Greek—as ‘an atheist, and a democrat’ in some visitors’ book ‘between Geneva and Chamonix’. The existence of two Greek autographs of Shelley in addition to the one erased by Byron has been, as de Beer observes, ‘quite sufficient to confuse posterity’, and unfortunately the confusion persists, in spite of diligent research. Sylva Norman’s contribution was a delightful study of *Mary Shelley: Novelist and Dramatist*. Here it was revealed that *Prosperine* was first published in one of the obscurer annuals in 1832. This drew a letter (*T.L.S.*, June 25) from Frederick L. Jones, commenting on several points in the essay, and giving copies of two unpublished letters, one in the John Rylands Library and one in the possession of Tregaskis & Son, stated to ‘show beyond question’ that Mary Shelley was the author of *Prosperine* and *Midas*. Sylva Norman replied (July 2) contending that this correspondent had not shown ‘beyond question’ that Mary Shelley was the *sole* author of *Midas*. In the meanwhile (April 30) Elizabeth Nichie had written correcting, from manuscripts in the Bodleian, certain errors in Dowden’s version of Mary’s letters, and also noting an error in transcription in *Mary Shelley* by R. Glynn Grylls, p. 148 n. (*Vide inf.*)

In *The Unextinguished Hearth* Newman Ivey White has collected, with remarkable industry, practically the whole *corpus* of contemporary criticism of Shelley, under fourteen headings—some of them slightly jocular. To these are added a useful chronological summary and an 18-page appendix giving notes upon published sources—notes which to many students will be as valuable as anything in the book. There is, however, neither index nor bibliography, and there are one or two puzzling gaps in the list of books consulted, notably Edmund Blunden’s *Leigh Hunt’s ‘Examiner’ Examined* (*Y.W.* ix. 311). White’s thesis is that Shelley, far from being unknown and neglected in his lifetime, was both ‘known and feared’, and it is supported by an imposing mass of documentary evidence. To the frontispiece, Marianne Hunt’s bust of Shelley, a short paragraph of notes has been appended, but oddly enough this does not include Thomas Barnes’s remark (quoted by Blunden, *op. cit.*) that he could ‘see by the bust that misfortune and disappointment had

narrowed his features into an expression of disconsolate discontent'. White had a letter in *T.L.S.* (Sept. 10) concerning a collection of documents in a grangerized edition of Moore's *Byron* in the British Museum, including letters from Burns, Hazlitt, Coleridge, Leigh Hunt, and Lamb.

In spite of its occasionally 'precious' style, R. Glynn Grylls's life of *Mary Shelley*¹⁷ is a book of great interest to anyone who has felt the fascination of the Shelley circle. It is not the first life of Mrs. Shelley. One was written by Mrs. Julian Marshall, under the guidance of Sir Percy Florence's widow; one by Lucy Madox Rossetti; one by Richard Church; and one, published in Philadelphia, by Helen Moore. But the original documents and manuscripts placed at Grylls's disposal by Sir John Shelley-Rolls and the Curators of the Bodleian Library give to the present work an authoritative and illuminating character which in all its forerunners was necessarily absent. The 'plum' of the collection is undoubtedly the new material from the *Journal* begun in 1814 by Shelley and Mary jointly, and continued by her after his death. Mrs. Marshall had been permitted to quote from this *Journal*, but she made her selection a little timidly, under Lady Shelley's anxious eye, and we have had to wait till now for a glimpse of many passages of greater and more intriguing interest. The suicide of Mrs. Shelley's half-sister, Fanny Godwin, at a Welsh hostelry in October 1816, was the subject of an imaginative essay by G. M. Hort in *English* (ii. 7).

Some of the most interesting passages in R. Glynn Grylls's book are those which deal with the heroine's relations with Jane Williams after Shelley's death. Light is thrown upon the personality of that particular minx in the letters to her from Thomas Jefferson Hogg,¹⁸ published (some for the first time) with an introduction by Sylva Norman. These contain several glimpses of various members of the disintegrated Byron-Shelley circle, and a curious account of Hogg's visit to Shelley's grave

¹⁷ *Mary Shelley: A Biography*, by R. Glynn Grylls. O.U.P. pp. xvi+345. 18s.

¹⁸ *After Shelley: The Letters of Thomas Jefferson Hogg to Jane Williams*, ed. with a Biographical Introduction by Sylva Norman. O.U.P. pp. xlv+94. 2s. 6d.

in 1825. 'I stood there a long time', he writes, 'alone, with tears in my eyes and my hat in my hand. . . . No society of the dead', he adds, 'can be more select'; but he omits to mention that Keats was of the company. Seymour de Ricci noted (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 8) a copy of a letter from Shelley to Mrs. Waller, transcribed by R. Garnett from the original in the possession of the Earl of Lytton, and sent to the German scholar, Carl Weiser. 'Hibernicus', in an article entitled *Actaeon: Myth and Moralizing* (*N. & Q.*, July 30), traced passages in *Adonais* and *Epipsychidion* to the Actaeon myth. Volume xxiv of the proceedings of the British Academy contained an article by A. M. D. Hughes on *The Theology of Shelley*, and *M.L.N.* (Nov.) one by Donald Lee Clark, *Shelley and 'Pieces of Irish History'*, identifying the American work mentioned by Shelley in a letter of 18 August 1812.

Keats received more attention from writers in periodicals than from makers of books in 1938, but the development of his mind was traced in a small work¹⁹ published by the Calcutta University Press. In *Britannica*, xiv, H. Schumann had an article on *John Keats und das romantische Bewußtsein*. Edmund Blunden wrote (*T.L.S.*, Jan. 8) on the printed version of the opera, *Narensky*, libretto by Keats's friend, Charles Brown, performed at Drury Lane in 1814. G. St. Quintin suggested (*T.L.S.*, Feb. 5) that the last two lines of the *Ode to a Grecian Urn* are addressed not to mankind in general but to the figures on the urn itself. The same *Ode* was the subject of two other interesting letters: the first (*T.L.S.*, July 9) from J. R. MacGillivray putting forward the theory that an article by B. R. Haydon in *The Examiner* on Raphael's cartoon, *The Sacrifice at Lystra*, may have provided 'a more immediate imaginative stimulus than the Elgin Marbles'; the second (*T.L.S.*, Aug. 20) from W. Roberts, pointing out that Haydon's article appeared also in volume iv of *Annals of the Fine Arts*, and giving other notes on the genesis of the poem. J. Middleton Murry speculated (*T.L.S.*, July 9) on the significance of Keats's phrase 'pip-civilian' in a letter to Reynolds, 3 May 1818. Roberta D. Cornelius suggested (Aug. 6)

¹⁹ *Keats: The Development of his Mind*, by S. S. Chowoduri. Calcutta U.P.

that Parson Hugh Evans's 'pepins' (*M.W.W.* i. ii. 13) might lie at the back of the phrase. Neither correspondent seems to have recalled Keats's letter of 10 August 1820 to Shelley, in which he speaks of his own mind as 'a pack of scattered cards', and says that he is 'picked up and sorted to a pip'. Clarence D. Thorpe, University of Michigan, wrote (*T.L.S.*, Aug. 6) concerning 'a scrap of an autograph' of Keats's *I Stood Tip Toe Upon a Little Hill* in the Morgan Library; on 13 August M. Buxton Forman replied that the alleged 'unknown' manuscript was known both to himself and to Professor Garrod, and included in their respective editions of the poet's works at that time in the press. A fortnight later Buxton Forman had another letter in *T.L.S.*, apropos of Keats's MSS.—particularly those in the possession of Stefan Zweig—and on 10 December Clarence D. Thorpe was once more in the field with Keats MSS., this time in the Owen D. Young Collection, New York. On 10 December there was a reply from Garrod. *Keats as Doctor and Patient* was the subject of a book by Sir W. Hale White (*O.U.P.*, 5s.).

N. and Q. brought forth a fine crop of Keats's notes. 'H.W.F.' (June 18) wrote pointing out analogies between the *Ode to a Nightingale* and Horace, *Epode* 14, and 'Senex' contributed (July 30) evidence, gathered from the poet's letters, that he was acquainted with the First and Third Books of Odes, and—even if only in Roscommon's translation—with the *Ars Poetica*. T. O. Mabbott noted (Sept. 3) a parallel between Cowper's *Stanza subjoined to the Yearly Bill of Mortality*, 1788, and the last lines of Keats's sonnet *When I have fears that I may cease to be*. Karl G. Pfeiffer contributed a paper (Sept. 17) on *A Possible New Source of Keats' Sonnet on Chapman's 'Homer'*, suggesting that this might be found in a poem by Jasper Mayne, 1651, one of fifty-five 'commendatory pieces' prefixed to the collected works of William Cartwright, the Oxford poet and playwright, but confessing that the resemblances between the two poems 'are not primarily verbal'. The theory was discounted by M. Hope Dodds (Oct. 1), largely on the ground that 'it is not the discovery of something absolutely new but the fulfilment of expectation which is the theme of Keats's sonnet, and of this there is no trace in Mayne'. A fortnight later F. Delattre wrote combating this view, and affirming that 'joy

of the discovery of a new world of thought is . . . the real subject of the poem'.

Carlyle, though comparatively neglected in England, continued to exercise his old fascination on American and continental critics. In Carlyle's *Fusion of Poetry, History and Religion*²⁰ Hill Shine collects and reprints three articles which appeared originally in *S. in Ph.*, 1936-7, and were fully noted in *Y.W.* xvii. 260 and xviii. 250. These are metaphysical and serious to an extent which would have satisfied Carlyle himself if it did not call from him one of those growling laughs with which he occasionally disconcerted the too-solemn disciple. His debt to German philosophy is given full weight, and this links the book up with another²¹ which is concerned with the evolution of his philosophical ego. The other side of the picture is given by A. C. Taylor,²² and an attempt to draw the whole man is made by V. Basch.²³

It is characteristic of present-day literary orientations in England that the one appearance made by Carlyle in the *T.L.S.* of 1938 was in connexion with the Pre-Raphaelites. Henry Jervis wrote (Aug. 20) concerning a short holograph letter from Carlyle, dated 31 March 1850, on 'a decidedly good and promising N° 1'. This was believed by Bertram Rota to refer to *The Germ*. The fate of the manuscript of Carlyle's *French Revolution* was the subject of a lively and interesting article by W. A. Hirst in the January *Fortnightly Review*, suggesting that the egregious Mrs. Taylor (later Mrs. John Stuart Mill) herself destroyed the script out of a warped sense of loyalty to Mill, who had projected a book on the same subject.

Sir Charles Firth's admirable *Commentary*,²⁴ posthumously published under the editorship of Godfrey Davies of the

²⁰ *Carlyle's Fusion of Poetry, History and Religion*, by Hill Shine. U.N.C.P. and O.U.P. pp. 85. 7s.

²¹ *Carlyle's Weg zu Goethe*, by H. Plagens. W. Postberg. Ottrop.

²² *Carlyle et la pensée latine*, by A. C. Taylor (*Études de Littérature étrangère et contemporaine*). Paris. Boivin. 60 frs.

²³ *Carlyle*, by V. Basch. Paris: Gallimard. 27 frs.

²⁴ *A Commentary on Macaulay's History of England*, by Sir Charles Firth. Macmillan. pp. ix+367. 21s.

Huntington Library, is made up of lectures at Oxford by the then Regius Professor of Modern History before the last war. It forms an incomparable guide, and gives, *inter alia*, a list of the sources which were or were not accessible to Macaulay, together with illuminating notes upon the manner in which he handled those then open to him. The fact that he was, what Tennyson called J. R. Green, 'a jolly vivid man', did not save Macaulay from holding up to the face of history a mirror of which he sometimes made a distorting glass, and the chapter on his errors will be very consoling to many readers and students who have long felt that a magnificent prose style can hardly atone for a lack of historic perspective. 'Macaulay's whiggism', wrote Firth, 'affected his judgment of classes and personages alike', and 'Things which are crimes in James II become venial errors in William III'. The *History* is not likely to be shelved in our time; but whether regarded as what it claims to be, or merely as a masterpiece of English prose, it will be read with more pleasure as well as to better purpose if this *Commentary* is fully utilized. The chapter on 'Macaulay's Use of Literature' is especially good, and shows incidentally how even in that field he would gather only those herbs likely to give to his pottage the exact savour he desired—discrimination wise in a cook but perilous in an historian.

Sir Charles Mallet had an excellent article on Macaulay in the *Contemporary Review* for March. This contained incidentally a spirited counterblast to Augustine Birrell's attack in the first series of *Obiter Dicta*.

Tennyson was another eminent Victorian who received in 1938 a very small dole of notice from critics and commentators, but to the *R.E.S.* (Oct.), A. L. Strout contributed an excellent article on 'Christopher North's' criticisms of Tennyson and the poet's reactions to their acerbity. S. M. Steward suggested (*N. and Q.*, Aug. 20) parallels between Tennyson and Pope; e.g. 'The splendour falls on the castle walls' and the first stanza of the *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*. Thackeray, on the other hand, received the compliment of a detailed study in book form.²⁵

²⁵ *On the Art of Thackeray*, by H. N. Wethered. Longmans. pp. 200. 12s. 6d.

H. N. Wethered expresses his indebtedness to Saintsbury's *Considerations*, from which the O.U.P. permitted him to quote, and it is improbable that his work will supersede that admirable collection of introductions reissued in 1931. The embargo laid by Thackeray on biographical memoirs of himself has been till quite lately extended to critical analysis and appreciation, and many of his admirers would welcome a book combining (if that were possible) the literary force of Saintsbury with the narrative framework provided by Trollope, Whibley, and others. Such a book this cannot be called. But the writer's unaffected enthusiasm and often shrewd judgement do much to balance such defects as a rather slipshod style, a tendency to serve up *crambe repetita*, and neglect to provide an index. There was a note (*T.L.S.*, Feb. 19) from Violet Biddulph on Thackeray's interest in the story of Madame de Praslin, with special reference to some vanished Titmarsh drawings of her under the name of 'Mademoiselle Bon-Bon'; and an article in *Britannica*, xvi, by H. Hirst, dealt with *Ironischer und sentimentaler Realismus bei Thackeray*.

In the summer of 1938 the Nonesuch Press brought out the collected three-volume edition of the letters of Charles Dickens. They show Dickens as a vivid and vigorous letter-writer, and illuminate his life and character from almost every angle, but it can hardly be doubted that this flood-lighting throws into relief more than one feature of which his admirers would have preferred not to be made aware. W. Dexter's *Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dickens*,²⁶ containing his letters to her and first published in 1935, was reissued, but a great deal of the material—e.g. Kate Perugini's introduction, and the appendices with comments on the separation by Dickens himself, Georgina Hogarth, and Forster—has since been rendered obsolete by the revelation of the whole squalid, discreditable history in *Dickens and his Daughter*, by Gladys Storey (Muller, 1939). E. N. Gummer contributed an amusing article to *M.L.R.* (April) on Dickens and Germany. Though otherwise exhaustive, it contains no allusion to the fact that, as Nicholas Nickleby per-

²⁶ *Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dickens*, by W. Dexter. Constable. pp. 299. 5s. (Reissue.)

ceived from the cases standing about in their office yard, the Brothers Cheeryble were German merchants and, further, that their nephew Frank was sent to Germany to study the business. T. C. C. in *N. and Q.* (Oct. 22) answers a query concerning the use by Dickens of the term 'stipendiary' and adds a third example (from *Our Mutual Friend*, Book II, Chapter VIII) to the two given in the *O.E.D.*

The Brontës also were granted an interlude of comparative quiescence, but the publication of Emily Brontë's *Gondal Poems*,²⁷ from the British Museum MS., was an event of interest not only to lovers of Emily's poetry but to everyone interested in the 'weird sisters', since these are apparently the poems on which Charlotte 'accidentally lighted' in the autumn of 1845, when she became 'fired with the determination that she and her sister should become authors'. The editors have done their work well, and have given to this curious sequence of poems their true character of a saga. How intensely Emily had come to believe in her imaginary land of 'Gondal' and the people inhabiting it the whole saga shows. Its texture is not unnaturally irregular, its high-falutin' passages betray alike the youth of the writer and her lack of humour; but it contains some patches of real beauty not unworthy of her who wrote *No Coward Soul is Mine*.

The erroneous statement (in the Introduction) that the manuscript had been presented to the Museum by the descendants of Mr. George Smith, of Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co., was corrected by the editors (*T.L.S.*, March 19). E. H. W. Meyerstein wrote (*T.L.S.*, Nov. 12) pointing out that the metre of Emily Brontë's last lines is identical with that of *The Hour of Death* by Mrs. Hemans, and suggesting that Emily's poem may have been written deliberately to refute that lady's.

All the main outlines of the lives of the Rossetti family are now fairly well known, but devoted commentators are applying themselves to the task of filling in those outlines with a warp and weft of colour as minute and intricate as those of the Ardebil

²⁷ *Gondal Poems, by Emily Brontë*, ed. Helen Brown and Joan Mott. Basil Blackwell. pp. 47. 5s.

Carpet. Mrs. Troxell²⁸ claims that she has not only 'something actually new' to tell us, but that the new material is interesting. So some of it certainly is—but not all. Christina was never a good correspondent, and the admirable William Michael was a dull one. Their letters in this collection add little to our knowledge of either of them; and few of Dante Gabriel's have any of that vehement picturesque quality which we have learned to know in those already published; but there are some delightful things from Holman Hunt, and William Bell Scott and Ruskin are well represented. Future biographers will find this not so much a mine as a 'pocket' of good ore.

The excellent life of Browning²⁹ by W. Hall Griffin, completed and edited by H. C. Minchin, now after an interval of twenty-seven years comes forth in a new and revised edition—a timely and welcome resurgence. It had already attained the dignity of a standard biography, and the 'correction of a few time-worn errors', coupled with 'the addition of some significant facts', greatly enhances its value. This *Poets's Aim* is discussed by H. B. Charlton, in a book published by the Manchester University Press.

W. O. Raymond (*T.L.S.*, January 15), in a letter quoting one from Browning to Julia Wedgwood, confirms June 1860 as the date when the poet picked up 'the old square yellow book', and 'Gave a lira for it, eightpence English just'.

Amusing in its Teutonic ponderousness but not devoid of critical insight is the article of Hermann Heuer on Browning and Donne (*Eng. Stud.*, April). The author considers that in *A Grammarian's Funeral* Browning exploited his intimate knowledge of the Renaissance period with an 'almost animal exuberance', and suggests that in the metaphysical works of Donne may be found the formative factor in Browning's artistic world of experience. He fastens upon Donne's phrase, 'soul-hydroptic with a sacred thirst', subjects it to a searching analysis, and pursues the connexion of ideas (*Sinnzusammenhang*) between

²⁸ *The Three Rossettis*, by J. Camp Troxell. H.U.P. and O.U.P. pp. 209. 19s.

²⁹ *The Life of Robert Browning*, by W. Hall Griffin and H. C. Minchin (New and Revised Edition). Methuen. pp. x+344. 7s. 6d.

the words 'dropsy' and 'hydroptic' through the verse and prose of Donne, illustrating his point with examples from Tillotson, Dekker, and others. He also tabulates Browning's allusions to Donne, and shows on the poet's own evidence that he was familiar with 'Donne and Dekker, brave poets and true'.

S. in Ph. (July) contains an interesting article, *Caliban upon Setebos*, in which C. R. Tracy suggests that Browning's poem, inspired by Darwin's *Origin of Species*, was recognized as a satire 'right from the beginning', one school of critics maintaining that it satirizes the evolutionists, and the other that its butt is the anti-Darwinian opposition.

Matthew Arnold is another great Victorian who, without being the centre of a biography in 1938, came in for a good deal of thoughtful criticism. In his character as a Prophet of European Unity he was discussed in a leading article (*T.L.S.*, April 16) which laid it down that he has yet to come into his own. The writer suggested that it was in *Obermann Once More* that Arnold most clearly and simply expressed his vision of the pattern of European history, and observed that 'the task on which he laboured, and of which he despaired, was the creation of a new spiritual unity of western civilization'. *Matthew Arnold and Sainte Beuve* provided Arnold Whitridge (editor of *Unpublished Letters of Matthew Arnold*, 1923) with the materials for an excellent article in the March *P.M.L.A.* Whitridge pointed out that 'under the spell of Sainte Beuve' the austere Englishman 'could listen to the story of Musset [*sic*] and George Sand without a quiver of moral indignation'. The two critics were, he thinks, drawn to each other by their common admiration for Senancourt. Sainte Beuve translated Arnold's *Stanzas in Memory of the Author of Obermann*, and quoted them in *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire*. 'There was', says Whitridge, 'no man in England with the possible exception of Clough, whose praise meant as much to Matthew Arnold as did Sainte Beuve's.'

Arnold's French affiliations were considered by Florence L. Wickelgren (*M.L.R.*, April) in an interesting paper on *Matthew Arnold and France*—a paper deriving largely from a study of

the book on that subject by Iris E. Sells (1935), with special reference to his admiration for George Sand, and the influence upon his work of Senancourt's *Obermann*.

In *Memorabilia* (*N. and Q.*, Dec. 31) is a note on J. A. Corbett's article, *A Victorian Critic of Germany*, which appeared in *German Life and Letters* for October, and dealt with Matthew Arnold's opinion of the German character, formed during two visits to Germany. 'He loved and valued discipline,' says the writer, 'but not dictatorships or totalitarian states.'

T. C. C. recorded a note (*N. and Q.*, Jan. 22) identifying the hitherto obscure reference to Sophocles in Arnold's *On Dover Beach* with the *Antigone*, 586. This annotator points out that only in *Ajax*, 461, is the Aegean mentioned by name, but that in three other passages, i.e. *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1239, *Trachiniae*, 112, and *Antigone*, 586, Sophocles has 'used the sea in storm to illustrate human troubles'.

Arthur Hugh Clough³⁰ found a careful and conscientious biographer in Goldie Levy, though the *T.L.S.* critic considered her attitude 'less understanding' than Bagehot's, and felt that she was interested in the man at the expense of his works. She touches very lightly on the Tractarian Movement, of which she writes with a detachment that amounts to frigidity, and there is a fine *meiosis* in her description of Clough's arduous labours at the behest of Miss Nightingale as 'considerable personal help'. In mentioning Charles Kingsley's warm admiration for *The Bothie* Dr. Levy omits to add that he actually 'boosted' it in *The Water Babies*, a more remarkable tribute, in its own way, than the article in *Frazer's*. Nowhere does she attempt any critical appreciation of Clough's poetry.

A rather engaging cluster of lesser lights glimmered during the year in various periodicals and correspondence columns. One of these, the lachrymose, languishing Laetitia Elizabeth Landon ('L.E.L.') had a centenary—and a column in *N. and Q.*—on 15 October. Miss Edgworth figured in a Note (Sept. 17) by Milton Milhauser, considering her as a *Social Novelist*—'social'

³⁰ *Arthur Hugh Clough*, by Goldie Levy. Sidgwick and Jackson. pp. 236. 12s. 6d.

being used in the sense of 'economic'. Milhauser suggests that the 'economic message' of *The Absentee* is 'basic to its plot'. 'She seems to have been', says he, 'the one novelist before the major Victorians for whom an economic problem could outweigh a romance.'

Captain Marryat appears in a long letter from E. H. W. Meyerstein (*T.L.S.*, May 7) dealing mainly with Marryat's early associations with the *Espiègle*, and his utilization of his own experiences aboard her when writing his first novel, *The Naval Officer*. Relevant extracts are given from the court martial on Captain Taylor, February 1814. Charles Child Walcutt wrote (*N. and Q.*, Jan. 8) pointing out analogies between Steevens's account of Johnson's demeanour at a firework exhibition in Marylebone Gardens and Peter Simple's conduct at Ranelagh. An interesting suggestion came from Arno L. Bader (*N. and Q.*, Jan. 29) apropos of an unidentified 'ogre friend' in a letter from Dickens to Forster in 1846. This was the friend who dismayed the prim English baronet at Lausanne by his 'frightful and appalling impropriety', and Bader thinks that Marryat was he.

Walter Savage Landor made two brief appearances in the course of the year. *M.L.N.* for June contained a note from Robert H. Super on *An Unknown Child of Landor's*, basing his remarks on a marginal comment by Landor's clerical young brother in a copy of the *London Quarterly* at the South Kensington Museum. George Becker, in an article on *Landor's Political Purpose* (*S. in Ph.*, July), expressed the view that Landor 'took himself seriously as a political prophet', piling up 'year after year a monument in prose to the cause of liberty'.

A. L. Strout contributed a lively paper to *N. and Q.* (Dec. 31) on *Tom Moore and Bessy*, based on passages in the *Last Leaves from the Journal of Charles Mayne Young*.

Among the lesser lights none received more marked and honourable attention than Henry Crabb Robinson.³¹ Edith J. Morley completed the devoted labours of a quarter of a century,

³¹ *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and Their Writers*, ed. by Edith J. Morley. Dent. 3 vols. 31s. 6d.

and published her monumental condensation of his references to contemporary authors, 'gathered from his diary, travel journals and reminiscences'. Of these three large solid volumes the first two contain the text, and the third contains both a general and analytical index, occupying pp. 861-1136. Robinson is not an amusing writer; he was too discreet for that. He did not possess the delightful knack of projecting a lively image on to the screen of his (rather faulty) memory; and it is impossible not to regret his deficiency in most of the virtues of a good diarist. Yet he is, as has been said, 'a rewarding author', and to have retrieved and reassembled his scattered but none the less valuable writings is an achievement of no little arduousness and distinction.

Olybrius & Co. had a note (*N. and Q.*, Dec. 17) on an uncollected letter from Charles Lamb to Crabb Robinson, relating to Moxon's second series of *Elia* Essays, circa March 1832; and Mary E. Gilbert wrote (*M.L.R.*, April) on *Two Little Known References to Henry Crabb Robinson*.

A now-almost-invisible asteroid was honoured by a full-length article, *Mr. Tupper and the Poets*, in *T.L.S.* (Feb. 26). We are here reminded that *Proverbial Philosophy* was first conceived when the Philosopher was attached to his cousin Isabelle and anxious to imbue her with 'correct ideas on the holy state of matrimony'. The remark that some quarter of a million copies of the resulting book were sold in England and a million-and-a-half in America drew forth a protest from Jesse S. Reeves, Ann Arbor, Michigan, challenging these figures as far as they concerned the United States.

Charles Lamb was barely noticed, except in his relation to the Elizabethans (see above, p. 134). Olybrius & Co. noted (*N. and Q.*, Jan. 8) a letter from Lamb to Robert Jameson, 29 August 1827, of which the second sentence is missing in the Lucas Edition of the *Letters*, and his uncollected letter to Crabb Robinson has already been noted.

Stendhal's borrowings from Hazlitt's *Edinburgh Review* articles were analysed by Robert Vigneron in *Mod. Phil.* (May), and in the same number Earl L. Griggs discussed the

1809 and the 1818 editions of Coleridge's 'weekly essay' *The Friend*, showing additions and alterations in the later edition.

And, finally, Sydney Smith makes an appearance (not very creditable to his cloth) in *R.E.S.* (April), where, in an article by James Murphy on *Some Plagiarisms of Sydney Smith*, it is clearly shown that when preparing the *Elementary Sketches of Moral Philosophy*, lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in 1804-6, he borrowed freely and shamelessly from W. Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, 1791, Adam Smith, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, 1795, and Isaac Barrow's Sermons from the 1741 edition of his works.

Among American poets of the first half of the nineteenth century none has gained more ground in England of late years than that elusive but undoubted genius, Emily Dickinson. Her first serious biographer claims³² that her poems were 'the final and artistically the most perfect product of the New England renaissance'. Here she is regarded as a sort of spiritual grandchild of Blake and half-sister of Christina Rossetti—with neither of whom she seems to have been acquainted. Whicher shows that she knew and deeply admired 'the gigantic Emily Brontë', whose genius her own sometimes resembled in feature if not in stature; but it is labour wasted to try to find affinities for a poet so intensely individual. This almost-too-detailed study is the first reliable biography that has yet been written. In spite of occasional overloading, and a slightly hectic style, it is a good one.

³² *This was a Poet: A Critical Biography of Emily Dickinson*, by George Frisbie Whicher. Scribner. pp. ix + 336. 12s. 6d.

XIII

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

II

By H. V. ROUTH

IF any reader prefers to begin a study of the period covered by this chapter with a general introduction, he will find several volumes from which to choose. Undoubtedly the survey which best suits his purpose is *The Victorians and After*.¹ It is a well-written book, and it makes one think; but not only about the period; rather about the purpose of its authors. Obviously there is nothing very unexpected in the facts collected and arranged between the two covers, so its value must be reckoned on the merits of its method and aim.

What was in the minds of the two collaborators? In the first place they seem to have aimed at striking a balance between two schools of interpretation. On the one hand, they discard the old academic obsession about *influences*; on the other hand, they recognize that every man of genius is to some extent the expression of his age, and the product of tradition; so their first care is clearly to distinguish between the background and the figures who move of their own accord in the forefront of the stage, illuminated by the footlights. In what degree does a poet or a novelist belong to his century, and belong to himself?

The collaborators answer that question by writing a number of short sections, always beginning with the atmosphere and then continuing with the poets and prose writers who breathed it—thumbnail sketches of each outstanding figure, with as much of the background as will give prominence to their outlines. These introductions are followed by a bibliography so that the student can find his own way among the masterpieces, and verify the pronouncements of his instructors.

Only experience can decide whether this system is worth while. One is half afraid that unless the survey falls into the

¹ *The Victorians and After, 1830-1914*, by E. Batho and Bonamy Dobrée. With a chapter on The Economic Background by G. Chapman. The Cresset Press. pp. 371. 6s.

hands of the exceptions which prove the rule, the average reader will stop short at the introductions, and shrink (not unnaturally) from the formidable lists of bibliographical titles. If so, he will miss a great deal, for these critical sections are extremely clever, in fact very much alive, but too condensed and epigrammatic to persuade or convince. They can best be valued by those who already know the authors and do not need the summaries. If, however, the beginner perseveres and works his own way through the bibliographies, he will most probably look for the virtues and vices dictated by the collaborators, and not think for himself. Besides, bibliographies are to be had by the hundred.

So it is as well not to expect too much from this gallant attempt to make students read for themselves. But the mature reader will derive much profit as well as enjoyment from a perusal, if he takes the sections leisurely and meditates on each phrase. Every sentence is worth close attention.

Mrs. Cruse has added to her entertaining *The Victorians and their Books* a sequel,² equally entertaining. Probably the best-written chapter is again the one which discusses the religious literature of our fathers, and in some cases, our grandfathers, for the book practically stops before the Great War began. But most readers will derive more pleasure out of her review of comic books and periodicals. Her work does not pretend to be complete or scholarly.

Herbert Palmer's *Post-Victorian Poetry*³ at first appears to be overwhelmingly complete within its chosen province. It surveys practically the whole field beginning with the 'Prelude to the twentieth century' (not forgetting Watson, Newbolt, and Kipling) and it follows the stream, or rather the Delta of streams, down to the present day, ending with a quite exhaustive examination of 'Sitwellism', and a rather gloomy forecast of the approaching effacement of the Muses. There is much

² *After the Victorians*, by Amy Cruse. Allen and Unwin. pp. 264. 10s. 6d.

³ *Post-Victorian Poetry*, by Herbert Palmer. Dent. pp. ix+378. 12s. 6d.

witticism and epigrammatic satire in the book, yet much sympathetic insight; moreover, the author has a sense of the spirit and tendency of culture, which after all does sometimes find expression in that much used and abused word—*influence*. Nevertheless, the really serious reader will probably be disappointed. In the first place the author is vexatiously diffuse, and overgenerous in quotations. In the next place he is too fond of tracing his own adventures among the books which have arisen around him and clamoured for attention during the last forty years. Thirdly, one cannot help feeling that Palmer considers these loud-penned writers to be interesting only so long as they lived and tried to surprise Fleet Street, and gave people something to talk about, especially at literary dinners. So his book is like a series of long talks, and smokes and drinks, admirably disguised as witty and thoughtful chapters on phases of modernism.

As a contrast, the reader should turn to H. W. Häusermann's carefully constructed essay on the latest phases of English criticism.⁴ It is worth reading or rather puzzling over, and like the three previous books noticed, it serves as an introduction to our period. The author has succeeded in tracing a consistent line of development. Up to the dawn of the twentieth century, official and authoritative criticism had been a blend of romanticism and classicism. As a result critics either judged the *form* of a work, classifying and appraising it according to its style, genre, and school; or they studied the social significance of the writer, his humanism, humanitarianism, and sense of progress. These two attitudes could not last any longer; they ignored one fundamental trait in the English mind: the tendency towards rationalism. Even Addison liked to philosophize and bring Descartes and Locke into his judgements on literature. That impulse was bound to reassert itself, especially as twentieth-century philosophy was full of new ideas about human nature. So there arose a school, or rather a succession of critics, who tried to judge and explain literary creativeness by the light

⁴ *Studien zur englischen Literaturkritik 1910–30*, by Hans Walter Häusermann. (Kölner Anglistische Arbeiten. 34. Band.) Verlag Pöppinghaus. pp. vi, 244. RM. 6.

of contemporary psychology, vitalism, and psycho-analysis. Häusermann traces the movement through I. A. Richards, Herbert Read, Robert Graves and others, especially through Richards; he will forgive a lot to the thinkers who are not satisfied with results, but probe beneath the surface for causes. But there is one sin which he will not forgive. These scientific critics did not stop to prove the postulates of the new psychology; they took them on faith. Besides, though they did not succumb to the scientist's besetting sin of cynicism, they lost sight of the humanist's sense of spiritual creativeness ('das Gefühl für die integrale schöpferische Persönlichkeit'). They took refuge in a kind of scientificized romanticism—inquiry into the sources of inspiration, research into the consciousness which flows into verse forms. So they gradually came to consider the urge towards poetry as one of the ordinary vital activities (der dichterische Prozess als gewöhnliche Lebensfunktion). This naturalism has led to disappointing results. Some critics even fall into the error of supposing that poetry can dispense with the logical forms imposed by the intellect, relying on the original and almost inarticulate sources of the inspiration itself.

As a comment on these views the reader might turn to Castelli's essay on Hardy's poetry.⁵ Its aim is 'to understand the thought and art which inspired the moments in which poetry commanded the service of his pen'. Castelli opens with 'In the British Museum' in which the 'labouring man' stares at the stone from the Areopagus and cannot help thinking that it once echoed the voice of St. Paul. Castelli then goes on to remind the reader that Hardy was intent not on catching the echoes, but their significance; and that even if the English poet was bound by circumstances to be an agnostic (that is, to be dissatisfied with the *echoes* of religious truth), he nevertheless sought for the *cause* of those echoes, during all his life; and often came as near to finding it as many an orthodox seeker. The literary student may think that such a defence and

⁵ *Thomas Hardy Poeta. Saggio d'interpretazione*, by Alberto Castelli. Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Milan: 'Vita e Pensiero'. pp. 71. 81.

interpretation are unnecessary, as nobody ever questioned the spirituality of Hardy's poetry. But he will be delighted with the many (and mostly unusual) quotations collected to prove the case.

It may seem to be a far cry from Hardy to Arnold Bennett, but another foreigner is looking for the spiritual significance behind his work. Elisabeth Massoulard⁶ claims that the time has come to examine his work critically and academically; to label him and place him on the literary shelf, whether or no we often take him down to read. If so, we shall find that he is one of the most remarkable men of his age, one whose greatness is obscured by his many-sidedness. His genius flooded the whole surface of life, so we find difficulty in tracing its course. For instance, since he was so universal, we are apt to take the surface impression, and to conclude that he was a disillusionist, even a cynic. So Fräulein Massoulard sets to work to show us that he combined this ironical, realistic twist with its opposite—romanticism.

The critic begins by reminding us that some of his more enlightened contemporaries recognized this dualism, for instance, Priestley, Schirmer, Bullett, Cox, Drew, Maurois, Meissner. Then she explains, on the authority of Hübener, that in our age romanticism means the spiritual assimilation of the modern world. She shows us how difficult it was for the novelist to reconcile his inborn idealism with the reproduction of life as he saw and felt it. In this early phase he had much in common with Flaubert. Then he gradually relinquished self-analysis, cultivated the less-disillusioned authors, especially Wordsworth; then again he departed from his detached impersonal attitude, and concentrated on intensifying and heightening his sense of life. So he developed his idea of mystery and fate—its savour, its fullness, its magic. Thus the romantic instinct is to be sensed behind all his work, though Fräulein Massoulard has to admit that Bennett's unconquerable passion for experience was often too much for his literary talent; and instead of the artist we can find only the journalist.

⁶ *Die romantischen Elemente in Arnold Bennett*, by Elisabeth Massoulard. (Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie.) Bonn: Hanstein Verlagsbuchhandlung. pp. 84. M. 3.20.

Such is not the case with Edward Thomas's⁷ attempt at explaining himself. As has been noticed before, autobiography is as much a feature of this century as of the last, and *The Childhood* might have ranked with *Something of Myself* and *The Years Between*. It is Thomas's history of his own life, begun while he was still unknown, except to an inner circle. Why did he start to tell this story? The answer cannot be given with certainty, but it seems likely that he was so sick of this so-called civilization of ours that he felt he must protest to the world that a man's soul was entirely his own, a possession almost necessarily detached from the circumstances of his birth and social position, and especially detached from what is officially known as his education. So he has told in prose of admirable simplicity and directness the history of the growth of a spirit which had the makings of a poet. That spirit happened to be his own, but he studies it with a most unusual aloofness; quite objectively. But he got no further than his sixteenth year, and all we have is the picture of a perfectly futile home-life and school-life, narrated without sentiment, and without bitterness, but with a quiet humour, a sense of comedy, and a most enviable sense of other people's characters and appearances. The fragment loses much of its value for literary students because it is a fragment. But it loses nothing for educational experimentalists who are investigating the Montessori and Neale systems—the conviction that a child should be left to choose his own education, because in no other way will he be educated. The autobiographer seems to have chosen his own education quite in opposition to the rules and regulations of his educators, and to have produced Edward Thomas.

Ford Madox Ford's *Mightier than the Sword*⁸ should also be read for its self-revelation. The book would have had higher value if there had been more criticisms and fewer memories. As it is, we must content ourselves with some amusing scenes,

⁷ *The Childhood of Edward Thomas: A Fragment of Autobiography*. With a Preface by Julian Thomas. Faber and Faber. pp. 152. 6s.

⁸ *Mightier than the Sword: Memories and Criticisms of Henry James, D. H. Lawrence, Conrad, Galsworthy, Hardy, Turgenev, H. G. Wells, W. H. Hudson, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, and Swinburne*, by Ford Madox Ford. Allen and Unwin. pp. 292. 10s. 6d.

encounters, and especially conversations with the authors, which reveal their presence and personality, and something of the tendency of their literary lives; but in a rather elusive and whimsical way. In fact one learns less about the portraits than about the portraitist. Now and then the book has to be taken seriously as when we are told why Hardy's poetry is so superior to his novels (since he did not take the trouble to 'construct' a plot) and why Conrad's best novels are about great ambitions and transactions on land (since he had abjured the sea on leaving the merchant service).

There is still a good deal to be said for straightforward academic criticism. Such, at any rate, is the impression after reading Rose Macaulay's *E. M. Forster*.⁹ Nearly all that novelist's best work was published before the Great War and even his most popular story, *A Passage to India*, which appeared in 1924, was projected in 1906. But he has never before been honoured with a 'full-length study' (to quote the wrapper), probably because his reputation belongs so largely to the post-War period. He can therefore be most conveniently discussed at this stage of our survey, especially as his portraitist is a leader of modernist fiction. There are obvious advantages in enlisting one novelist to interpret another, but less obvious disadvantages. For instance, the story-teller turned critic is tempted to keep his (or her) special public too much in view, to gratify their expectations, rather than the broader many-sided curiosity which all sorts and conditions of readers share. Now and then Miss Macaulay falls into this temptation, but she makes up for it by the professional insight and skill with which she analyses Forster's plots, and the experienced judgement with which she quotes. Such a sentence as 'It is private life that holds out the mirror to infinity; personal intercourse and that alone that ever hints at personality beyond our daily vision' is worth pages of exposition, if only the reader will think it over. In fact it is the chief merit of this book, that the critic, though herself an expert technician, dwells chiefly on the moral implications of Forster's work: on his profound consciousness of the importance of human

⁹ *The Writings of E. M. Forster*, by Rose Macaulay. Hogarth Press. pp. 303. 7s. 6d.

contacts, and of the misunderstandings, misconceptions, and obsessions which darken these relationships—chiefly of individuals but also of nationalities—thus stultifying the real object of human life. The student will also find an admirable appreciation of Forster's literary development, unfolded in chronological order, and landmarked by each publication.

Though G. M. Hopkins died before E. M. Forster was born, two new books on this long-forgotten author¹⁰ may be discussed here, since his literary reputation is of the youngest. The interest in this latest collection of letters depends, of course, largely on the interest we take in their private affairs and idiosyncrasies; but some have a wider appeal. Not a few throw light on the religious ferment and controversy of the 'sixties; whilst his correspondence with Patmore, in which the two poets criticize each other's verse and allusion is made to the *Sponsa Dei* (which Patmore took ten years to write and then destroyed), is a contribution to late nineteenth century literary history.

It is quite possible that some readers, who have so often heard Hopkins's name mentioned, may turn to these letters out of curiosity, and if so, it is much more than possible that they will want to know the story of his life. They will find that G. F. Lahey's little handbook¹¹ is just what they want. With admirable brevity, the biographer tells us of his author's childhood and early attempts at literature, with numerous quotations. Then there is a chapter on his Oxford studies and friendships; an unforgettable chapter on his intercourse with Newman; and yet another on his literary friendship with Patmore, which evoked so much mutual yet friendly criticism, and thereby sheds so much light on both poets. The chapter on his character is mostly made up of contemporary appreciations. The section entitled 'the Craftsman' discusses the technical aspect of his verse: its stress, rhythms, suggestiveness, and appeal to the ear. Specialists will be interested in Lahey's summary.

'His peculiar interest comes from the perennial source of surprises which meet any reader however well informed; his

¹⁰ *Further Letters of G. M. Hopkins. Including his Correspondence with Coventry Patmore*, ed. by C. C. Abbott. O.U.P. pp. xxxviii+297. 16s.

¹¹ *Gerard Manley Hopkins*, by G. F. Lahey. O.U.P. pp. ix+172. 3s. 6d.

peculiar greatness lies in the amazing union of intellectual profundity with great emotional intensity and imaginative power, under the control of a highly developed faculty of expression and structural perfection.'

In the Sitwells' *Trio*,¹² Sacheverell's lectures on Augustan architecture and on Cruikshank hardly come within the scope of *The Year's Work* and Osbert has nothing very new to say about Dickens (though he says it very well). But Miss Sitwell's theme is 'the stormy and far from pleasant seas of modern poetry' explored by one who is by no means afraid to steer her own course. And whether or no she convinces the reader she makes him think. According to this remorseless, almost reckless, critic, the three poets who influenced and indeed *formed* the youngest generation are G. M. Hopkins, Browning; and Walt Whitman, but few if any of the disciples have proved worthy of their masters. Of Hardy you feel that 'from his gnarled winter boughs life may spring'; you recognize the 'gentle fresh radiance' of de la Mare's poetry, and in W. H. Davies, 'the dew of a strange radiance'. But Rupert Brooke's verse has a spurious quality which she pronounces to be common, 'because a pretended emotion is vulgar', and the same is true of J. E. Flecker. W. Owen would have been a very great poet, and T. S. Eliot has a 'supreme genius for organising a poem'.

These and such like judgements are not capricious, they are based on a principle and ideal which become manifest as soon as Miss Sitwell passes on to explain and defend her brothers' poetry and especially her own. We have not space to do justice to her thesis. It might perhaps be suggested by Beethoven's *dictum*: 'Melody is the sensual life of poetry. Do not the spiritual contents of a poem become sensual life through melody?' Or, in a word, emotion which is too deep for the language of reason.

As Miss Sitwell thinks so highly of Walt Whitman, the reader should refer to Esther Shephard's book on that poet.¹³ He will

¹² *Trio: Dissertations on Some Aspects of National Genius*, by Osbert, Edith, and Sacheverell Sitwell. The Northcliffe Lectures 1937. Macmillan. pp. viii+248. 7s. 6d.

¹³ *Walt Whitman's Pose*, by Esther Shephard. Harrap. pp. xii+453. 15s.

find everything about the great American's literary life, public and private. Her theory is that Walt was profoundly influenced by G. Sand's *Consuelo* and what ought to be considered its sequel *La Comtesse de Rudolstadt*. He derived more inspiration from that literary source than from contact with nature and the ferment of American life. Probably he was too egocentric and too irreclaimably a *poseur* to realize his own indebtedness. Most readers will agree that the biographer-critic makes too much of this disingenuousness; when writing of the *genus irritabile*, more than of any other class, it is embarrassing 'to draw their frailties from their dread abode'; but the mass of material she has accumulated and organized is most instructive and readable.

The lively *University of Toronto Quarterly* contains as usual some interesting essays. E. V. Brown in *Mr. Eliot and Some Enemies* (Oct.) claims that his poet should be approached in the same spirit as contemporaries 130 years ago ought to have approached those revolutionary upstarts, Coleridge and Wordsworth. Then we should find that there is deep vision in Eliot's eccentric outpourings: a conviction that neither man, nor the civilization in which he now lives, is as great as we suppose, that the expansive impulses must be checked by reliance on tradition and by the cult of 'orthodoxy of sensibility', that the spirit can find its true home only in surrender of self to God. These convictions, Brown continues, are expressed and explained in verses full of incisive and vivid imagination; and they seem to be so baffling only because the poet insists on seeing and *describing* the ugliness as well as the beauty of existence.

In the same number C. I. Glicksberg in *Proletarian Fiction in England* reminds us that an author should be an artist, not a partisan; should present, visualize, interpret life, not reform it, though he has a right to his own political and social bias. With these aims and within these limits proletarian (or Marxist) fiction is to be welcomed as warmly as any other kind of novel. Then he goes on to prove his case by a bird's-eye review of the leading 'proletarians', who are artists first and socialists afterwards.

*The Best Poems of 1938*¹⁴ and *The Best Short Stories of 1938*¹⁵ have fallen into our hands. Only those who have followed the productions of the year can tell how much knowledge and judgement go towards assembling, or rather, creating, these two volumes, as good as any of their series. But any reader can realize that they combine to produce one of the best commentaries on the year's intellectual and artistic activity.

Meanwhile Frank Swinnerton's *Georgian Literary Scene*¹⁶ has joined the immortals, that is to say, *Everyman's Library*. As the book was noticed in *Y.W.* xvi. 343-4, it is enough to add that except for a few flashes of insight here and there—for instance on Henry James, Conrad, and D. H. Lawrence—this *causerie* is little else than an entertaining conversation; the kind of view one would take in an arm-chair or at a literary dinner.

By FREDERICK S. BOAS

In *Étud. Ang.* (Jan.-Mar.) Georges Lafourcade discusses *Le Centenaire de Swinburne* and the publications to which it gave rise. He divides these into two classes—those which treat Swinburne as 'a poet born', and those which find in his poetry the outcome of his life and emotional experiences. It is with the latter that Lafourcade is in sympathy. While deprecating the extravagant claims made by R. W. Hughes in *Swinburne: A Centenary Survey* (*Nineteenth Century and After*, June 1937), which should have been noted in *Y.W.* xviii, Lafourcade concludes that 'l'inspiration de Swinburne (sa technique n'est pas contestée) se rehabilite lentement', and he prophesies for him 'un magnifique regain de gloire'.

J. J. Rubin in *Whitman and Carlyle: 1846* (*M.L.N.*, May) points out that the first known mention of Carlyle by Whitman is in a brief review of *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* in the *Brooklyn Evening Star*, Jan. 31, 1846, where he calls

¹⁴ *The Best Poems of 1938*, selected by Thomas Moulton. Cape. pp. 128. 6s.

¹⁵ *The Best Short Stories of 1938. English and American*, ed. by J. O'Brien. Cape. pp. 480. 7s. 6d.

¹⁶ *The Georgian Literary Scene*, by Frank Swinnerton. Dent. pp. xii + 379. 2s.

it 'a dashing, rollicking, most readable book', and claims that unlike 'nearly all European works relating to that era . . . it tells the truth'.

Two critical papers in *P.M.L.A.* (Sept.) deserve attention. E. Arthur Robinson discusses *Meredith's Literary Theory and Science*, dealing especially with the relation between his evolutionary doctrine and the theory of literature by which he approached his own and his contemporaries' writing. Clarence R. Decker in *The Aesthetic Revolt Against Naturalism in Victorian Criticism* interprets the attitude towards 'realism' of Meredith, Stevenson, J. A. Symonds, George Moore, Oscar Wilde, and Arthur Symonds. Also in *P.M.L.A.* (Dec.) Ruth C. Child asks *Is Walter Pater an Impressionistic Critic*, and decides that his criticism 'cannot be pinned down with any label, but . . . is illuminating and humane'.

In *A Poe Source?* (*T.L.S.*, Feb. 26) Guy Gardiner dissented from J. R. Moore's view that in *Murders in the Rue Morgue* Poe was indebted to Scott's account of the orang-outang in *Count Robert of Paris*. He suggested instead as a source the story of the monkey shaving a cat in *Sandford and Merton*. Moore (*ibid.*, Apr. 2) showed conclusively that in all the details of the orang-outang's deadly work, Poe's story was in line with Scott's novel and not with Day's didactic tale.

Carl J. Weber discusses *Chronology in Hardy's Novels* (*P.M.L.A.*, Mar.). He illustrates the novelist's interest in 'calendrical facts' and draws up a time-chart for *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* from 1860 to July 1889. An examination of ten of the Wessex novels shows that eight of them are isolated in historical time, and suggests that 'he surveyed the entire nineteenth century with a view to making his historical study as accurate as were his topographical observations'.

Varley Lang, *Crabbe and 'Tess of the D'Urbervilles'* (*M.L.N.*, May), notes that Hardy admired Crabbe as 'an apostle of realism'. He suggests the conversion of Alec after his seduction of Tess into a local preacher and his swing back into scepticism may have been derived from parallel incidents in 'The Maid's Story', one of Crabbe's *Tales of the Hall*.

In *Étud. Ang.* (April-June) Jean Bailhache analyses *Le Sentimentalisme de Barrie*, which is, he declares, a stumbling-block to the younger generation to-day. Its peculiar quality, in his view, is 'la tension désespérée d'une recherche qui se sait impuissante, en raison d'un pessimisme calviniste qui conduit à considérer le bonheur comme impossible'.

John D. Gordon in *The Rajah Brooke and Joseph Conrad* (*S. in Ph.*, Oct.) shows from incidental allusions in *Almayer's Folly*, *An Outcast of the Islands*, and *The Rescue* that Conrad was familiar with the career of James Brooke, the first white Rajah of Sarawak in Borneo, though his name is not mentioned. He believes that Conrad would not have felt satisfied till 'he had exhausted the possibilities of a man who had lived a life as exciting as fiction in a part of the world that he himself knew'. Gordon traces in the characterization and incidents of *The Rescue* and of *Lord Jim* the influence of Conrad's reading of 'Brookiana'.

In *Étud. Ang.* (Jan.-Mar.) E. K. Brown has an interesting study of *Edith Wharton*, and of the influence on her work of her expatriation from New York to Paris. His summing up is that it will 'not be chiefly for characterization that Edith Wharton will continue to be read. It will be because of her interest in technique . . . because of the clarity of her social observation . . . because of the temper of her mind, which has given a special tone to her best writing'.

In the same periodical (April-June) J. Loiseau deals with *La Croisade de Sinclair Lewis* and finds 'dans les remèdes que propose Lewis au mal social et dans la dénonciation même de ce mal, une preuve évidente d'idéalisme'. He discusses the combination in him of reformer and novelist, and concludes that 'le meilleur Lewis' is to be found in *Arrowsmith* and *Dodsworth*, and above all in *Main Street* and *Babbitt*.

To the Oct.-Dec. number René Lalou contributes an elaborate study of *Les Fins et les Moyens de Aldous Huxley*, discussing the affinities of his work with that of some of the French masters of fiction and tracing its development from the publication of *Counterpoint* in translation in 1930 to the present time.

In *The Dowson Legend* (*R.S.L., Essays by Divers Hands*, vol. xvii)¹ John Gawsworth aims at dispelling the calumniating fantasies that have gathered round the personal reputation of Ernest Dowson. He traces their origin to the memoir of the poet written after his death in 1900 and prefixed to the collected editions of his poems from 1905 onwards till this gave place to the enlarged 1934 edition introduced by Desmond Flower. Gawsworth shows how the legend of Dowson as a vicious and squalid drug-taker and dipsomaniac grew and flourished in spite of protests by his intimates, Edgar Jepson, Victor Plarr, and one or two others. In support of these protests Gawsworth prints twelve previously unpublished letters from Dowson to the Oxford friend to whom he dedicated the poem 'Beata Solitudo'. The letters were written between the spring of 1891 and the spring of 1897, and are concerned chiefly with Dowson's unrequited love for the youthful Adelaide Foltinowicz to whom he dedicated his 1896 'Verses'. In these letters, as Gawsworth claims, 'no ugly slur of passion, no ill savours are to be found'.

In *Irish Poets of To-day and Blake* (*P.M.L.A.*, June) Grace Jameson traces Blake's influence on 'A. E.' and W. B. Yeats. Though A. E. has many references to Blake's works and some ideas in common with him, he was too much of a born mystic to be much indebted to him. Yeats, on the other hand, derived from Blake, whose works he edited, not only words and symbols but ideas. Miss Jameson gives many quotations in support of her views.

A Supplement to *T.L.S.*, April 30, was devoted to *Scottish Literature To-day*. Among the contributors were Walter Elliot on 'Touchstone of Scotland', asserting that 'the true essence of Scottish literature is the sense of the sky and the seasons'; J. L. Campbell on 'Modern Gaelic Poetry and its Background', maintaining that the traditional oral literature which is the chief source of inspiration of the poets using Gaelic 'has been kept alive until to-day almost entirely by the "illiterate" peasantry among whom English is a foreign language'; Sir Hugh Walpole on 'Sir Walter Scott To-day', protesting that 'to throw Scott

¹ See above, Chapter I, p. 16.

aside as a sham verbose romantic is to admit entire and even shameful ignorance of the real qualities of his work'; and Agnes Mure Mackenzie on 'The Scottish Historical Novel', dealing with the successors of Sir Walter, among them Stevenson, Neil Munro, and Buchan. Two unsigned articles deal with 'Stevenson after Fifty Years', and with 'The Scots Contribution to Drama', discussing the work of Barrie, Bridie, and Gordon Daviot, and the achievement of several Scottish theatrical organizations. The article on 'The Scottish Renaissance' by Doris N. Dalglish raised some comments by Peter M. Smith in *T.L.S.*, May 7.

We are transported by M. L. Muffang to the other end of the globe when in *Étud. Ang.* (April-June) he surveys *La Poésie Contemporain de la Nouvelle-Zélande*. Of the three phases in the poetry of New Zealand since 1860 he dates the third as beginning about 1920. In its representatives he finds two common characteristics, 'le souci intégral de leur art' and 'une culture générale . . . particulièrement une culture gréco-latine, ou chez d'autres celtique'. He mentions in illustration of his thesis about half a dozen New Zealand poets of to-day, especially W. D'Arcy Cresswell and A. R. D. Fairburn, from whose poems he gives striking quotations.

XIV BIBLIOGRAPHICA

By JOHN SOUTHGATE

No general bibliographical work of importance has appeared during the past year; but the history of the firm of Cadell & Davies between 1793 and 1836 is an interesting contribution not only to bibliography but to the history of literature.¹

Cadell & Davies seem to have been generous publishers, even by the standard of those days. They followed for the most part the contemporary practice of buying outright the copyright of a work in which they had confidence. If they doubted the commercial value of the work, or if it was difficult to forecast the extent of its sales, they usually paid the expenses of publication and shared any profit in equal parts with the author. A fairly long correspondence about Lemprière's *Classical Dictionary*, which was published under such an agreement, shows that he received almost £300 for the second edition alone. He thought the sum disgracefully small.

A short list of publications abstracted from the firm's documents suggests that an edition of a serious work of general interest ran to about 750 copies. It may be inferred from the figures of twentieth-century publishers that universal education has about doubled the number and halved the proportion. A similar comparison for poetical best-sellers would require the help of the calculus; for almost 24,000 copies of Rogers's *Pleasures of Memory* were printed in twenty-four years.

But Cadell's generosity sometimes excelled his judgement. The facetious dullness of Nares was rewarded with inexplicable and expensive favours; his correspondence with the firm occupies a substantial part of the first section of the book. On the other hand, the copyright of *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* was somewhat hurriedly sold off to Longman & Hurst, and the manuscript of *Pride and Prejudice* was rejected unread.

Several pages are occupied by correspondence about *Black-*

¹ *The Publishing Firm of Cadell & Davies: Select Correspondence and Accounts 1793-1836*, ed. . . . by Theodore Besterman. O.U.P. pp. xxxv + 189. 38s.

wood's Magazine, the agency of which Murray had found too hot to hold. T. Cadell's correspondence with William Blackwood on the obscure and disreputable quarrel between Wilson and Lockhart, the editors of the *Magazine*, and Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt, is printed at considerable length. Lockhart's invective, even in Blackwood's translation, is amusing enough; but Hazlitt's shady colours are hardly brightened by the new light which these letters throw on the squabble. The dispute between the firm, which seems to have been high-handed, and Bishop Percy, who was certainly difficult, over the notorious edition of Goldsmith, is illustrated, or rather confused, by a considerable number of letters.

Finally, a group of letters arranged systematically provides a fairly complete picture of the relation between printer and publisher, and printer and author. The speed at which books were produced suggests that printing, like warfare, has suffered from too many men and too many machines. George Roots, for instance, expected that his *Charters of the Town of Kingston-upon-Thames*, a bulky work which could hardly claim priority, would be out within a fortnight of the dispatch of his manuscript.

The following articles which have appeared in *The Library*² during the year may be noticed here.

Laurence Hanson (March) gives a brief but thorough discussion of English news-books containing foreign news between 1624 and 1641. Mary Bohannon, in *A London Bookseller's Bill 1635-39*, publishes and analyses the list of Sir Thomas Barrington's purchases from Richard Whitaker. Sir Thomas spent £28 during this period. Three-fifths of the works are theological, tractarian, and philosophical, and extend to almost all branches of religious opinion. Above one-fifth of the books was bought within six months of publication. They follow closely the controversy on the Sabbath, the attacks on Burton, and the Bishops' war. Some works on anticatholic activities on the Continent were obviously bought to supplement the corantos

² *The Library* (*Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*), New Series, vol. xviii, no. 4-vol. xix, no. 3. O.U.P. 5s.

and news-books. All this controversial literature is balanced by a few classical authors, several books of poetry, including Shakespeare and Herbert, and three historical works chosen at random. Even if we suppose that Sir Thomas had a good library of standard authors to start with, this list may do something to explain the well-informed ignorance and injudicious intelligence of seventeenth-century Members of Parliament which perplexed the Stuarts and perplexes posterity.

Harry R. Hoppe (March) in *An Approximate Printing Date for the First Quarto of 'Romeo and Juliet'* suggests that signatures A–D were printed before Danter's printing-house was raided in Lent 1596/7 and that signatures E–K were sent out to a jobbing printer after Danter's presses had been seized. The reference on the title-page to Hunsdon's men implies that the book began to be printed before March 1596. Two other articles in this volume of *The Library* illustrate the occasional value of bibliography to literary criticism. J. G. McManaway (Sept.) in *Thomas Dekker: Further Textual Notes* gives bibliographical comments on minor *cruces* in *The Roaring Girl*, and Fredson T. Bowers (Sept.) in *Notes on Running-Titles as Bibliographical Evidence* draws most of his evidence from that inexhaustible series of puzzles, the contemporary editions of Elizabethan dramatists.

Folke Dahl (June) contributes a *Short-title Catalogue of English Corantos and Newsbooks, 1620–42*; E. S. De Beer dates the correspondence between Sir Thomas Browne and John Evelyn, which relates mainly to their gardens and their books, to 1659–62; and Lord Rothschild supplements Davis's edition of the *Drapier's Letters* with notes on three new states of the first letter.

As briefly noted above (p. 184), Philip Gray (Sept.) in Rochester's *Poems on Several Occasions* concludes that there were two dated editions in 1680 and two undated editions probably in 1680 also, the first of them in two issues. The second undated edition was apparently not printed from the first. He suggests that the T. L. Cary who advertised with the bookseller Will Richards for information against the publishers of these lewd scandalous poems was a relative of John Cary of Woodstock, one of Rochester's executors.

J. S. Finck (Dec.) draws attention to an unrecorded copy of *Urn Burial* in the library of Cornell University. There are five manuscript corrections, three of which Finck believes to be in Browne's handwriting. W. F. Trench and K. B. Garratt contribute an article on transcriptions by various interested and disinterested people into copies of John Macky's *Memoirs* of the marginal notes with which Swift animated his copy of that tedious work.

An article entitled *Johnsonian Bibliography, a Supplement to Courtney*, by R. W. Chapman with the collaboration of Allen T. Hazen, almost fills this year's part of the Oxford Bibliographical Society's Proceedings.³ The author collects and classifies new material accumulated during the last twenty years; the attribution to Johnson of many prefaces and dedications has greatly increased the canon of his writings. But not the least valuable part of the supplement is the laborious amplification of Courtney's cursory descriptions and the full discussion of bibliographical problems which he has barely noticed. For example, the description and collation of the various editions and issues of *The Rambler* goes a good way to clear up an intricate problem. A brief discussion of the bibliography of the *Dictionary* includes the warning, which should not be but is still necessary, that the fourth edition, 1773, represents Johnson's final opinion.

A collation of the edition of Shakespeare and its reprints shows that the printers made no provision for the Preface, which Johnson probably sent in at the last possible moment. Nevertheless, separate prefaces seem to be scarce. The publishers could not easily disregard the clamours of the public, nor indeed the requests of the author, for a new edition of the preface, but they protected themselves by bringing out a small edition. The *Lives of the English Poets* gave rise to a similar difficulty. Johnson, dilatory by nature and by confession, was neither the editor nor the compiler of the collection, and he kept the publishers waiting so long that they had to bind the prefaces separately instead of prefixing them to each volume as it appeared. They managed, in spite of the demands of the public

³ *Oxford Bibliographical Society: Proceedings and Papers*, vol. 5, pt. 3, pp. 119-97.

and the author, to avoid selling them separately until the edition of 1781.

The article concludes with a full description of the *Collected Works* and the supplementary volumes, 1787-9.

In *The First Edition of Herbert's 'Temple'*, which completes this part of the Oxford Bibliographical Society's Proceedings, F. E. Hutchinson re-examines the problem of the undated copies of the edition of 1633, and demonstrates that the once common assumption of editions in 1631 and 1632 is quite ungrounded. He also attempts to prove that the licensers' copy now preserved in Bodley (MS. Tanner 307) was used by Buck the printer. But the evidence at best admits no more than a doubtful probability.

There is no change in the arrangement of the Modern Humanities Research Association's Eighteenth *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*,⁴ but the number of entries has been increased from 4,322 to 4,994. This is the last volume to be edited by Miss Serjeantson, who has been responsible for this valuable and arduous work since 1929.

The Department of Printed Books, British Museum, has possessed since 1898 the second tract from the *Book of Diuers Ghostly Matters* printed by Caxton at Westminster in 1491. The tract, though known to be part of this collection, was for some time thought to be a separate publication, but it had been taken out of the Earl of Dysart's complete copy, which had once belonged to the Harleian Library. The Museum has now acquired the remaining tract of the mutilated copy.

The Museum has been assisted by the Friends of the National Libraries to acquire three rare books of Elizabethan verse. They are bound together in a single volume, which once belonged to Daniel Wray, the antiquary. The first of the three works is a copy of the fourth (or third) edition of Richard Edwards's anthology *The Paradyse of Dainty Deuises*, imprinted at London

⁴ *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, ed. by Mary S. Serjeantson, assisted by Leslie N. Broughton. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes. pp. xi+311. 7s. 6d.

by Henrye Dizle, 1580. The collection ran into ten editions by 1610 and may have been known to Shakespeare. The second, an anonymous anthology, is entitled *A gorgeous gallery of Gallant Inuentions*, imprinted at London for Richard Iones, 1578; and the third is an hitherto unknown edition of Anthony Munday's *The Paine of Pleasure*. The title-page is wanting, but the edition may be related to the Cambridge edition of 1580. Munday's verse is a practical demonstration of his title, but the book contains a good deal of out-of-the-way information about Elizabethan pastimes and is interesting both to the antiquary and the bibliographer. Other sixteenth-century accessions include *The Pastime of Pleasure*, empyrnted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, 1509, by Stephen Hawes, and *The Comforte of Louers*, also by Hawes, empyrnted at London by Wynkyn de Worde, about 1515. *The Comforte of Louers*, a short poem in rhyme royal, full of allegory and allusion, is incongruously followed by *The Ouerthrow of the Gout*, a translation into fourteeners of Balista's *In Podagram concertatio*; a short *Dialogue betwixt the Gout and Balista* concludes the volume, which is known only from this copy. Other accessions include the *Short-Title Catalogue of the Printed Books in the Library of Sir Richard Harmsworth, Bart., to the year 1640*, printed for private circulation, 1925.

The Department of Manuscripts has acquired a group of letters from Caroline Anne Bowles to Lady Emma Burrard. The letters, which cover the period 1838-50, are full of details about Southey's domestic life, and seem to promise a good deal of information to those who like the Laureate, and almost as much amusement to those who prefer Byron.

A comparison of the manuscript of eight poems by Ernest Dowson, which the Department has recently acquired, with the printed text gives considerable insight into the extent and method of the poet's revision. Most of the pieces belong to the first four years of the nineties. The group includes 'I would not alter thy cold eyes', which was published in *Verses*, 1896, under the title *Flos lunae*. The autograph of sixty-two poems by Edward Thomas has also been presented to the Department. This collection, which represents almost half the poet's work,

consists of fair copies arranged chronologically and dated 24 December 1914 to 24 May 1915. Other recent acquisitions include a manuscript of Lamb's friend James White, headed *August 1805. Picturesque Excursion into South Wales*; and the collection of letters from Edward Fitzgerald to Fanny Kemble which was published by Aldis Wright in 1895.

The Bodleian has acquired a piece of particular interest to Oxford. In 1839 Frederick Oakeley and Robert Williams projected a translation of the Roman Breviary. J. H. Newman supplied the translations of the hymns, but afterwards stopped the printing at Keble's request. *The Order of the Psalter of the Week*, London, 1841, which the Library has now acquired, is all that survives. Matthew Prior's *Gualterus Dannistonus ad Amicos*, an undated and unrecorded single-sheet edition of the poem which appeared in the collected poems of 1716, is another notable accession. Two periodicals deserve particular mention: *Hermes Staticus*, no. 1, 17 Aug. 1648, a rare news-pamphlet, and the *Post-Man*, London, 1708-12, a run of 600 consecutive numbers.

From a large number of old and rare printed books acquired by the Library the following may be mentioned: William Baldwin's *Myrrour for Magistrates*, London, 1571; Henry Smith, *Six Sermons*, 1599; Drayton's *Poems*, the third edition, c. 1609; Geoffrey Mynshul, *Essayes and characters of a prison and prisoners*, 1638; *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson*, 1640; *Elegies, Exequies, Epitaphes, etc.*, 1647, including poems by E. Radclyffe, Carew, and Corbet; Butler's *Hudibras*, 1663, 1664, 1670; *Poems on Affairs of State: from the time of Oliver Cromwell to the Abdication of King James the Second*, 1697; John Lewis, *The Life of John Wickliffe*, 1720, the author's copy; Edward Howard, *The Six Days Adventure, or the New Utopia*, 1761; the first two volumes of Thomas Day's *History of Sandford & Merton*, first edition, 1786, 1789; Wordsworth, *An Evening Walk*, 1793; and the first issue of Cary's *Dante*, 1814.

The Bodleian has also received a number of valuable manuscripts, the most important of which is Johnson's *Diary for the Year 1782*. The diary, which was used by Boswell, contains memoranda of Johnson's reading, a petty-cash account, and

notes of social engagements, together with characteristic observations on the Doctor's health and appetite. A nineteenth-century transcription of seventy-six letters from John Wilkes to his election agent in Germany, John Dell, covers the period from 1753 to 1781. The Library has been presented with a copy of the *Letters of George Meredith*, London, 1912, with transcriptions by W. M. Meredith of several unpublished letters. Accessions of seventeenth-century manuscripts include a folio volume of songs, containing words and music, in which most of the important lyric poets of the first half of the century are represented; *A Sette of Satyricall Eclogues*, a copy made in 1656 of unpublished poems written by Richard Pipe in 1617; and a transcription of *Sir William Wallers Apology*, first printed in 1793.

The Library has also acquired sets of writing-tablets of the sort on which Hamlet vowed to write no more. They are pocket-books containing washable waxed sheets, and date from 1577 and 1604.

Manuscript acquisitions of the National Library of Scotland include a collection of 109 letters of Sir Walter Scott; several autograph poems of Alan Ramsay, some of which are still unpublished; and the Autobiography and Recollections of Colonel John D. Bethune, 1783-1833. Accessions of printed books include a copy of *Ancient Spanish Ballads Historical and Romantic*, translated by J. G. Lockhart, Edinburgh, 1823, with an inscription from the translator to Sophia Lockhart; a unique fragment of *A Pick-tooth for the Pope*, by Sir James Sempill, in two Scottish editions; Alexander Ross, *Three Decades of Divine Meditations*, 1630; Alan Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany*, 1733; Alexander Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1816, 1818; and among other additions to the Library's Scott collection, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, second edition, Edinburgh, 1803. Photostats of the unique copy in the Pierpont Morgan Library of John Barbour's *The Actys and Life of Robert Bruce*, Edinburgh, c. 1571, have been presented to the Library.

A fairly large number of interesting books have come into the market during the year. On 30 May, Sotheby sold a copy of the *Canterbury Tales*, Caxton, 1478, for £820; on 13 December

the first Collection of Chaucer's Works, printed by Pynson in 1526, realized £265. Skelton's *Phyllyp Sparrowe*, printed at London by Richard Kele, c. 1545, brought £300. The lack of the title and six preliminary leaves and an abundance of minor defects brought the price of a first folio of Shakespeare down to £600. It was sold at Sotheby's on 29 June to G. Wells. A second folio, 1632, brought £78. At Sotheby's on 20 June, Menkin paid £3,200 for a fine copy of the third folio, 1663; other copies brought from £95 to £240. A fourth folio, 1685, was sold for £60. A copy of the *Compleat Angler*, 1653, was worth £240, because it is the only known copy in which Harry Lawes's music is not upside down. Herbert's *Temple*, 1663, brought £250, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*, 1667, £290. A copy of *Gulliver's Travels*, which has been in one ownership since publication and bears the signature Dysart, was bought by Rosenbach & Co. for £2,500. Other copies of the first edition went for from £2. 15s. to £23. A wrapper addressed to Mrs. Caesar, Poland Street, together with the copy of the *Dunciad*, second edition, round which it has remained for some two hundred years, was sold for £250. Burns's *Poems*, 1786, brought £800; a few proof-sheets of *Don Juan*, £26. Several first editions of Dickens, many of them in parts, were sold at Sotheby's. They included *The Christmas Carol*, 1843, a copy inscribed 'Thomas Carlyle from his friend Charles Dickens', £600; and inscribed copies of *Bleak House*, 1853, £180, and *The Tale of Two Cities*, 1859, £290. Inscribed copies of the *French Revolution* and *Sartor Resartus* went for £178 and £98. Many inscribed copies of works by modern authors sold at high prices: *Peter Pan and Wendy* brought £560; *Misalliance*, *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*, and *Fanny's First Play*, with the inscription 'To James Barrie from Bernard Shaw', £8.

Among sixteenth-century books Chapman's *An Humorous Days Myrth*, 1599, brought £58; *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, 1595, £42; *The Faerie Queen*, 1590-6, £17; Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, printed by Berthelet, 1532, £15; Anthony Munday's *Mirroure of Mutability*, 1579, £30; *Nashes Lenten Stuff*, 1599, £6. 5s.; *John Florio His firste frutes* (Florio's Second fruits), 1578, 1591, £98; Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, 1563, £27;

Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, 1589, £12; Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1586, 1587, £10. 10s.; Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 1589, £28; Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1595, £2. 10s.; and Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, 1596, £39.

Seventeenth-century poetry and drama included Webster's *White Divil*, 1612, £18; Browne's *Brittania's Pastorals*, 1613, 1616, £15; Dekker's *If it be not good the Diuel is in it*, 1612, £10; Ben Jonson's *Workes*, 1616, £2. 5s.; Blount's edition of Lyly's *Six Court Comedies*, 1632, £4. 15s.; Donne's *Poems*, 1635, £17; Herrick's *Hesperides*, 1647–8, £120; Wycherley, *Love in a Wood*, 1672, £3. 15s., and *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, 1673, £5; Milton's *Poems upon Several Occasions*, 1673, £5; and Congreve's *Love for Love*, 1695, £2. The following seem the most interesting of the prose works of the same century: Bacon's *Apology*, 1605, £17. 10s., *Of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning*, 1605, £2. 10s., and *Essaies*, 1613, £15; James I's *Workes*, 1616, £5. 10s.; Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1624, £5. 5s., William Alexander's *An Encouragement to the Colonies*, 1624, £120; Deloney's *Thomas of Reading*, 1632, £13. 10s.; Prynne's *Histriomastix*, 1633, £5; Donne's *Biothanatos*, with an autograph letter, 1647, £60; Browne's *Pseudodoxia epidemica*, 1646, £2. 7s., *Hydriotaphia*, 1658, £6. 10s., and *Religio Medici*, 1643 (1696), £18; Hobbes's *Leviathan*, 1651, £4. 10s., Locke's *Essay*, 1690, £10. 10s.; and Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, 1679–1715, £10. First editions of several prose works of Milton brought from £2 to £5. 5s. each.

Eighteenth-century poetry and drama included Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, 1711, £16, and the *Essay on Man*, 1733–4, £7. 10s.; Prior's *Poems on several occasions*, 1718, £1. 5s.; Gray's *Ode on a distant Prospect of Eton College*, 1747, £105, and *Odes*, 1757, £8. 15s.; Collins's *Odes*, 1747, £28; Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, 1770, £8, and *She Stoops to Conquer*, 1773, £4. 10s.; Cowper's *Poems*, 1782, a copy without the cancels, £17; Blake's *Poetical Sketches*, 1783, £10; Burns's *Poems*, 1787, the first Edinburgh edition, £51; and Wordsworth's *An Evening Walk*, 1793, £61, and *Lyrical Ballads*, 1798, £52. The most noteworthy items of a long list of eighteenth-century fiction seem to be Defoe's

Robinson Crusoe, 1719, with the Continuations, 1719, 1720, £78; Fielding's *Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*, 1741, £78, and *Joseph Andrews*, 1742, £11; Smollett's *Roderick Random*, 1748, £42; and *Humphrey Clinker*, 1771, £95; Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, 1760-7, £21, and *Sentimental Journey*, 1768, £13. 10s.; and Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*, 1766, £80 and £70. Other eighteenth-century prose works included Johnson's *Rambler*, 1751, £7. 10s., *Rasselas*, 1759, £4. 15s., *Journey to the Western Isles*, 1775, an inscribed copy presented to Mrs. Aston, £80, and *Prefaces to the Works of the English Poets*, 1779, inscribed, £34; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, 1776-88, £27; Boswell's *Life*, 1791, inscribed, £18. 10s.; and Godwin's *Political Justice*, 1793, £38.

Nineteenth-century poetry did not usually bring high prices; but many interesting books came into the market. Landon's *Poems from the Arabic and Persian*, 1800, was sold for £12. 10s., and Byron's copy of Moore's *Epistles, Odes, &c.*, 1806, for £27. Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, 1809, brought £5. 10s., the *Giaour*, 1813, 10s., and *Childe Harold*, 1812, £1. 8s. Coleridge's *Christabel*, 1816, realized £16. 5s., his *Sibylline Leaves*, 1817, £1; Keats's *Endymion*, 1818, £52; *Eve of Saint Agnes*, 1820, £38; Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, 1820, £7. 10s., and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, 1864, £4. The following seem to be the most interesting of the nineteenth-century prose works sold during the year: Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* and *Persuasion*, 1818, £52, and *Pride and Prejudice*, 1813, £36; Lamb's *Essays of Elia* and *Last Essays*, 1823, 1833, £48; Peacock's *Misfortunes of Elphin*, 1829, £1. 15s.; Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, 1837-8, £3. 5s.; Bentham's *Works*, 1843-59, £16; and the Brontës' *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey*, 1847, £18. A copy of the Burton Club's edition of the *Arabian Nights* sold for £12.

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